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This document includes reports on four subjects relevant to planned and unplanned aspects of occupational choices by youth. (1) "Toward a Morphology of Occupational Choice," by Robert A. Ellis and others, discusses intrinsic features and extrinsic rewards of work, extra-role considerations, and goal perception as major influences on occupational choice by youth. (2) "Development of an Instrument of Measuring Occupational Information," is by Martin H. Acker and Theodore J. Goldman. The Occupational Information Survey consists of three tasks: a 5-minute listing of job titles, a 5-minute listing of job activities, and a 20-minute matching of job titles and job activities. (3) "Religion and Occupational Preference," Benton Johnson, editor, explores the relationship between religious involvement and the occupational orientations of teenagers, and includes a paper entitled "Do Boys Attend Better Colleges Than Girls?" (4) "Family and Occupational Choice," by Roy H. Rodgers and R. Brooke Jacobsen, investigated the intra-family socialization process with respect to work roles. (CH)

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PLANNED AND UNPLANNED ASPECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES BY YOUTH

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PLANNED AND UNPLANNED ASPECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES BY YOUTH: TOWARD A MORPHOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

Contract No. OE-5-85-026

Robert A. Ellis and Leona Tyler
with assistance of Mark M. Greene

December 15, 1967

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The University of Oregon

Eugene, Oregon

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TOWARD A MORPHOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

Introduction

Much of the present concern over unemployment in the United States is based upon the realization that there is an inadequate correlation of existing labor force skills with those that are in demand in our increasingly complex economy. (19, 56, 67) Recently this concern has become more intense and widespread because it is obvious that the disparity will grow even greater in the years that lie just ahead. Under the pressure of these circumstances, various remedies to existing problems have been suggested. Prominent among these are proposals for new and improved educational programs designed to prepare the young for occupational pursuits needed in the economy of the future. These programs are obviously a serious need in our society.

It is one thing, however, to make these educational opportunities available, and quite another thing to have sufficient understanding of the process of occupational decisions by youth so that these educational programs can be effectively implemented. Much still remains to be learned about the factors that are the basis for occupational choices made at any given moment of time. Even more needs to be learned about the pattern of change in occupational choice that occurs over time or the factors that bear upon these changes.

The Center for Research in Occupational Planning was established to engage in a long-term research effort to add to our understanding of the nature of the occupational decision process and of the social and personal factors that facilitate, impede, or prevent youth in our society from developing occupational goals that can be effectively and realistically implemented. An interdisciplinary staff, consisting of persons from the fields of education, psychology, and sociology was brought together to carry on research to answer eventually the following questions:

1. How and why do occupational preferences develop? How do these change over time and crystallize into occupational choices? What are the goal components of a career plan?

2. What intermediate steps must be taken to implement career goals effectively? At what points to these intermediate decisions start to restrict the range of occupational alternatives that remain open?

3. What variables, both internal and external to the individual, impinge upon occupational choice?

4. How and why do some people drift into occupations with little apparent planning or forethought?

5. How and why do other people have their occupational plans disrupted or brought to a standstill? Are there intrapersonal or situational factors that make some individuals better able than others to readjust their goals once they have been disrupted?

The original aim of the research program was to undertake a longitudinal (multi-stage panel-designed) study on a nation-wide scale of the planned and unplanned aspects of occupational decisions made by youth in our society. Because of the magnitude and scope of this endeavor, a preliminary research program was funded by the Office of Education for the purpose of developing and perfecting the concepts and methods that would be relied upon in the larger research undertaking. To this end, a number of pre-studies were conducted by members of the Center's staff during this preliminary research phase. The projects varied widely both in scope and in topic. Some were purely methodological in nature, as questionnaires and interviews for gaining information on occupational choice and its related factors. Others focused on the conceptualization and measurement of situational factors presumed to have significant bearing on the occupational choice process. For example, the goal of one pre-study was to perfect instruments for ascertaining those aspects of family organization and the familial attitudes toward work and life in general that have relevance for the ways in which youth develop conceptions of the world of work and form occupational plans. Another was designed to develop and validate a measure of religious involvement to test hypotheses on the bearing that religious factors may have on occupational choice. Still other pre-studies focused on the occupational decision process itself. One, for instance, was concerned with developing an instrument designed to measure the range and depth of occupational information possessed by youth. Still another had as its aim the development of a morphology of occupational choice, a conceptual structure to articulate the sectors in which occupational choices are made as well as the dimensions along which occupational choice might be assessed.

The research strategy followed at this stage was to allow each investigator to pursue independently at his own pace the objectives of the pre-study under his direction--and, thus, exercise his own judgment about source of data and research design. This strategy was followed in part because of the varied complexity of the pre-study tasks, in part because of the varied data requirements of the pre-studies, and in part because of our general premise about the nature of interdisciplinary research. While we were agreed that any theoretical or empirical understanding of the nature of the occupational decision process requires drawing upon knowledge from the several behavioral sciences, we also agreed that interdisciplinary collaboration cannot be forced. The risk of doing so would be to reduce the inquiry to the lowest common denominator of concepts and methods that can be shared by the separate investigators. Instead, we saw the goal of interdisciplinary research to be best accomplished by pooling the independent efforts of individuals coming from the various disciplines; permitting an opportunity for the free exchange of ideas across disciplinary lines; but, at least in the formative stages of the research, not trying to achieve a common denominator in the research enterprise itself.

The diversity of these pre-studies has made it necessary to alter somewhat the format usually followed in final reports. To do justice to the independent inquiries, it has been necessary to divide the present report into four sections. The first of these is concerned with (1) conceptualizing and measuring the various elements that youth take into account in forming decisions about occupational goals and (2) developing procedures for identifying the dimensions along which these occupational choices are made. Since the chief concern is with what is chosen at a given point of time rather than with the nature of the decision-making process, this section is titled "Toward a Morphology of Occupational Choice."

The three remaining sections of the final report treat the "realism" dimension in occupational choice and the effects of selected aspects of the social structure upon the patterning of occupational goals. They are titled as follows:

Martin H. Acker and Theodore J. Goldman, "Development of an Instrument for Measuring Occupational Information"

Benton Johnson, "Religion and Occupational Preference"

Roy H. Rodgers, "Family and Occupational Choice"

While these reports summarize the main findings of the pre-studies, they do so in abbreviated fashion. Much additional material germane to the pre-studies is contained in articles, papers, and theses written by various persons associated with the Center. A list of these publications is found in Appendix A of this section of the final report.

Problem

As a first step to realizing the aims of the larger project, the present study seeks to introduce and test in a provisional way a conceptual model of occupational choice. The concern here is with the nature of the occupational decisions made rather than with the processes by which they are developed.

The general problem can be broken down into three particular issues:

1. How important a part do status considerations play in occupational choice? The extensive literature on occupational aspirations and expectations, especially in sociology, would tend to suggest that status elements play an important, if not dominant, part in determining the occupational goals youths set for themselves. (6, 33) By focusing so exclusively on the status dimension, the authors convey the impression--perhaps unwittingly--that occupational choice can be equated with status choice. Such a monistic conception of occupational selection, however, is at variance with sociological analyses of the world of work in which the prestige (or authority) dimension is found to be but one of several determining the organization of work relationships and the satisfactions that are derived from the job. (3, 11, 12, 25, 66) Further evidence that status is only one among several factors influencing occupational selection is provided by the vast literature from vocational psychology on the importance of work activities as incentives in occupational choice. (27) Both Roe and Super, for example, see these activities as capable of being classified by fields and, thus, providing a horizontal dimension that cuts across status lines. (44, 59) There is also an extensive body of psychological research on vocational interests in which the emphasis is on differences between fields rather than status levels. (58) The most suggestive evidence of the subsidiary role of status in the selection process is provided by Rosenberg's and Goldsen's research on occupations and values. (21, 45, 46) Their findings indicate that there are a number of attributes of the job besides status that are valued by youth in our society and help shape their occupational goals. Moreover, of the major attributes of the job identified by Rosenberg and Goldsen, status ranks extremely low as an important value--low enough so that the authors reject the likelihood that it is a principal determinant of career selection. Their results suggest the possibility that while the choice of occupational goals has important status implications, these implications may not be directly taken into account by the majority of youth--at least not by those in college--when planning their future careers. The status rewards that may accrue from their occupational decisions may instead be a byproduct of other elements influencing the choice process.

2. To what extent do occupational choices focus on the intrinsic characteristics of the job? Most investigators have assumed that decisions youth make about work are basically job decisions. In other words, they choose among occupational alternatives by examining the requirements and rewards of particular jobs and balancing these considerations against what they perceive to be their own interests, capacities, and values. (2, 18, 59) While this may, indeed, be the situation for many youth, particularly for those following upper-middle-class career patterns, it obscures the fact that concern with the characteristics of a particular job may be of secondary or even of little importance in work decisions that are made. Hollingshead,

for example, points out that lower-class adolescents in Elmtown drop out of high school not to take a job, but to go to work in "the factory." (28) It is clear from his analysis that these youth, in their work orientation, have developed a conception of being attached to a particular organization, but do not think of this in terms of there being a specific occupation or a series of occupations involved. This notion that job considerations may be secondary in work decisions--or at least be importantly augmented by broader institutional considerations--is consistent with Super's addition of enterprise as a third dimension to Roe's twofold classification. (59) It is also sustained by data we have previously collected on college students. Some youth were found to be primarily oriented to the institutional setting for work, such as those who say: "I want to work for Standard Oil." Or, "I want a job where I can work outdoors." Or, "I want a job in an area where I can go hunting and fishing." Thus, data from other studies as well as our own research impressions suggest that any conceptual model of how youth are oriented toward the world of work needs to be expanded to take into account the subsidiary characteristics of work that motivate youth. The fact that such information has not been yielded by past studies of occupational choice may reflect more the commitment of the researcher to assessing specific occupational goals than to the fact that subjects hold only such specific goals. It is, for example, common practice in such research to instruct interviewers to get as precise an answer as possible, with the further instruction to be sure to probe if the response is a general one specifying only the institutional context of work. (Cf., 50, pp. 290-291) Moreover, if the interviewer has failed to probe as instructed, it is still problematic whether the general answer found on the schedule would turn up in the statistical results, since coders are apt to have been instructed to treat all general answers as nonclassifiable.

3. To what extent are occupational plans formed through a process of exclusion rather than of choice? In the research literature, only passing attention has been given to the role of negative choice in occupational decisions. The decision process is conceived of, instead, as a progressive narrowing of occupational preferences. (2, 18, 27, 59) Yet, one possible source of difficulty for many youths is that they know what they do not want to do, but not what they want to do. (61, pp. 204-206) This seems to be the plight of the lower income group studied by Ginzberg et. al. (18, p. 155) The "passive and stunted" process of occupational choice determination that is reported to characterize this group can be interpreted as evidence of the essentially negative character of their occupational decisions, for as Ginzberg and his associates point out, almost every one of these boys "hopes . . . to escape from following his father's occupation." Thus, even though these boys are found not to have formed any positive work goals, they may have made some fundamental occupational decisions--decisions, which because of their entirely negative character, may well result in their drifting from job to job. While the exclusion process may in some circumstances be the main factor in occupational decisions, it

is likely in many cases to operate conjointly with the choice process --and particularly for the college-bound. Before coming to college, many students have already learned that certain job areas are not appropriate for them; others, they find, are not feasible because of a lack of talent and limited opportunity for specialized training. At the same time, they have at least provisionally developed long-range goals for the future at the time they enter college; so that both their choices and their exclusions tend to narrow the range of occupational alternatives open to them. (Cf., 21, pp. 24-26.)

Thus, the question of what is being chosen when occupational decisions are reached proves not to be so easy or obvious to answer as might at first appear. As we have tried to suggest, the term, occupational choice, may be a double misnomer. Though decisions about work are made, these may not be job decisions; and they may be predicated more on what is rejected than on what is preferred.

A Morphology of Occupational Choice

The main task of the pre-study was to construct and test a system for classifying the varied factors persons consider in making occupational decisions. In developing this classificatory system, which we call the Morphology of Occupational Choice (MOC), we were guided by four premises about the nature of occupational decisions:

1. Youth are capable of verbalizing the criteria they take into account in deliberating about their future work goals.

2. It is the criteria for their decisions, not the objects of their decisions (i.e., the kinds of occupations chosen) that constitute the main subject for the morphological analysis.

3. The criteria expressed do not appear as isolated concepts, but form clusters that represent dimensions of choice.

4. Negative as well as positive criteria enter into the decision process.

The procedure followed in constructing the morphology was partially deductive, partially inductive. The first step was to cull from the literature a provisional list of factors and dimensions others have used for defining the determinants of occupational choice. (4, pp. 151-153; 8, pp. 40 and 172; 9; 10; 13; 17; 20; 21, pp. 28-29; 22; 23; 24; 30; 31; 32; 36; 38; 39; 41; 43; 45, pp. 16-50; 46; 51; 52; 53; 54; 55; 64) The list was then checked against statements of criteria of choice and exclusion collected during the pre-study from 10 male job corpsmen of college age and 10 male college freshmen. This permitted us to locate gaps in the original set of items and to reduce the number of categories to a manageable number. In choosing among alternatives, we selected those for which there were the clearest empirical referents in the statements of the youth in the test group. A series of revisions were made on a trial-and-error basis until we finally felt satisfied that the set of factors and dimensions comprising the morphology did suitably encompass the full gamut of criteria being mentioned by the test group. It was hoped that the diverse backgrounds, experiences, and outlooks on life of these youth would help insure that the MOC categories would have a wide range of empirical applicability.

Major MOC Dimensions

The trial-and-error analysis revealed four major dimensions into which the various elements of choice (or exclusion) could be grouped. These are: (1) *intrinsic features of the work task* (i.e., the attractiveness of the work activity, itself); (2) *extrinsic rewards of work* (i.e., the benefits, such as security and status, derived from work); (3) *extra-role considerations* (i.e., both the institutional setting for work and such non-work factors as preference for a particular living area); and (4) *feasibility considerations* (i.e., the perceived chances of realizing specified work goals).

The first two of these major dimensions was taken in slightly modified form from Rosenberg's pioneer effort at conceptualizing occupational values and the value clusters they form. (45, 46) These dimensions reflect, as he has shown, two basic kinds of questions youth may ask when confronted with the prospect of making an occupational choice: "What rewards will I get for my work?" "Will the work, itself, be a satisfying experience?" (45, p. 13) The third major dimension, extra-role considerations, was created in the course of this research.

The last of these dimensions, feasibility considerations, was not originally considered to have relevance for the conceptual scheme, but was included at a late stage of the morphology's development because of its saliency to youth in the test group. Many, for example, reported that a reason for their choosing a particular line of work was that it was something they already knew how to do or that it was something they felt they could do well. Others, instead of appraising their own capacity and experiences, assessed the opportunity structure. As their comments revealed, their decisions about their future goals had involved weighing such factors as the openness of the job market and the chances that a given field offered for advancement.

By incorporating feasibility into the present scheme, we take into account the thesis advanced by Blau and his associates that "a choice between various possible courses of action can be conceptualized as motivated by two interrelated sets of factors: the individual's valuation of the rewards [of work] and his appraisal of his chances of being able to realize each of the alternatives." (2, p. 533) However, our view of the compromise process is broader than theirs. As we see it, the process may involve not only weighing goal preferences against the expected chances of realizing them, but also weighing competing sets of goals against each other.

The Total Morphology

The morphology in its general form can profitably be put to research use. Nevertheless, it is also evident that its research value would be enhanced by a further refinement of the categories of classification. For example, while it may be useful to know that certain youth focus on the intrinsic features of the work task in orienting themselves to the occupational world, and others do not (Cf., 30, pp. 432-434), it is even more important to know which intrinsic features of the work task are actually valued or rejected. Kohn, for one, suggests that it is precisely in this area that fundamental differences are found between the middle and lower classes. It is his view that the middle classes are more apt to experience--and presumably to value--in the work situation "the manipulation of interpersonal relations, ideas, and symbols" rather than "the manipulation of things" and are more apt to focus on gaining autonomy and responsibility in the work role. (32) Similarly, there may be important variation by social class in the type of extrinsic rewards of work that are valued. Hyman, for instance, reports that poorer youth are more likely than those from the middle strata to prefer security to high economic benefits when a choice between the two is presented them. (30, pp. 433-434.)

For these reasons, each of the major MOC dimensions was further differentiated into its component elements. In its most elaborate form, this procedure resulted in the identification of 27 criteria as having potential relevance for the decision process. These 27 elements of choice have been grouped by major dimension and, when appropriate, by subdimension. They are as follows:

A. Intrinsic features of the work task

Self fulfillment

Creativity

Expression of interest in work

Work with head or ideas

Work with hands or tools

__Social fulfillment__

- Service to others
- Work with people
- Meet interesting people

__Power considerations__

- Autonomy
- Leadership
- Responsibility

__Stimulation__

- Variety
- Travel
- Adventure

__Work conditions__

- Desirable conditions
- Hours on the job
- Safety
- Ease of difficulty
- Duration

B. __Extrinsic rewards of work__

- Status
- Economic benefits
- Security
- Fringe benefits
- Schedule of payments

C. __Extra-role considerations__

- Work setting
- Non-work considerations

D. **Feasibility**

Self appraisal

Assessment of the opportunity structure

Before proceeding further, a few comments about the components we have identified are in order.

In subdividing the first general category of intrinsic features of the work task, we again drew heavily upon Rosenberg's work on occupational values. (45, 46) A comparison of the schemes will reveal that the first two subdimensions we have used are equivalent to the "self-expression" and "people-oriented" value complexes Rosenberg has identified, while our third subdimension can be derived from his findings. (13; 31, pp. 30-34) Moreover, with but few exceptions, the elements of choice included in the three subdimensions are taken directly from value items found in Rosenberg's system. One exception is that the category of "provide an opportunity to use my special abilities and aptitudes," which Rosenberg treats as a single factor, has in the morphology been broken down into two factors: working with head or ideas and working with hands or tools. This was done in part because of the significance stratification theory attaches to the heads-hands division of labor (Cf., 32, 35) and, in part, because of our concern with the possibility that the more general phrasing used by Rosenberg might be implicitly biased toward middle-class values. The terms, special abilities and aptitudes, seemed to emphasize more the mental than the manual aspects of self-fulfillment in work and, thus, to introduce the risk of ignoring situations where youth anticipate gaining self-fulfillment from work in skilled and semi-skilled jobs. If findings were to be obtained that lower-class youth are not interested in finding self-expression in the work situation, we wanted to make sure that it was not an artifact of our classification system.

There are two further ways in which this section of the morphology departs from Rosenberg's analysis. One is that the category, meet interesting people, has been added as a third component to the subdimension, social fulfillment; the other is that the category of responsibility has been included as a third component of the subdimension, power considerations. Both these factors were cited as being relevant criteria by boys in the test group. With the factor of responsibility, there was also scattered outside evidence to indicate others had found it a relevant criterion in the decision process. (17, 32)

The two final subdimensions in this first category--stimulation and work conditions--were introduced on the basis of the choice and rejection statements of the youth in the test group. Their comments made it evident that both sets of factors entered into their thinking about their future work plans. Though inductive considerations governed their inclusion in the morphology, research precedent can be found for some of the specific items that have been used. (9, 10, 17, 30, 32, 38, 45)

Rosenberg's analysis also heavily influenced the breakdown of the extrinsic rewards of work dimension into its several components. (45) Like many others, he finds that status, economic benefits, and security are considerations that commonly enter into work decisions, and this was confirmed by our own experience with youth in the test group. In addition, we found "fringe benefits" being mentioned as an important consideration, a finding consistent with the results of Glick. (20) The fifth component--schedule of payments--was included as a reward factor more on the suspicion of its relevance than on what actually had been reported by persons in the test group. There seemed to be a distinct possibility that youth from underprivileged backgrounds in weighing occupational alternatives might take into account the immediacy with which they would be paid: whether wages would be paid once a week, twice a month, or once a month.

The differentiation of the last two major MOC dimensions was governed by considerations already discussed at some length so that they need to be only briefly treated at this point. A fairly straightforward distinction was drawn between two types of extra-role incentives that influence occupational decisions: factors associated with the immediate setting in which work takes place and factors external to work, itself, such as being near one's family. Similarly, the dimension of feasibility considerations was easily divided into two components: self appraisal and assessment of the opportunity structure.

By self appraisal, we have in mind statements about work in which respondents indicate it is something for which they possess the capacity, the experience, the training, or suitable personality traits (e.g., patience). Or the statements may be phrased negatively, indicating that the respondents feel they do not possess one or more of the foregoing. Assessment of the opportunity structure, on the other hand, connotes that the external occupational system has been taken into account by respondents in an effort to estimate the probability of attaining their work objectives. For example, respondents might refer to the openness of the job market, the availability of a sponsor (e.g., my dad is in this business), the possibilities for advancement, or the appropriateness of the sex or age role for him. Assessment of the opportunity structure can also be revealed by negatively phrased statements, as, for example, "the job is only open to people who are older than I."

The factors of self appraisal and assessment of the opportunity structure are useful for determining whether in deciding upon future occupational objectives, some effort has been made to take reality considerations into account--although this by no means guarantees the "realism" of the decisions.

Techniques for Eliciting MOC Data

Two techniques have been developed for eliciting data for analysis by the MOC categories: (1) the method of direct assessment and (2) the Choice Pattern technique. The procedures used in each of these techniques are summarized below.

The method of direct assessment is, as its title implies, a procedure for directly probing the criteria persons use for choosing and rejecting specific occupational goals. A preliminary step is to have a respondent specify the kind of work he wants to do when he starts working (or, if he has no specific job plans, the kind of work he is thinking about doing). If job goals are mentioned, the respondent is then asked whether he considers the job he has chosen to be "a good job" and to indicate his reasons why. Following this, the respondent is asked what kind of work he wants to do at age 50. If his long-term job goal differs from his initial one, a direct assessment is again made of why he does or does not think his age-50 job choice is "a good job."

A somewhat similar procedure is used for gaining information on criteria for rejecting particular occupational objectives. Each respondent, after he has finished reporting on his work plans for the future, is asked whether "At this time, is there any kind of work you know you do not want to do?" and to specify what kinds of jobs these are. He is then asked to indicate why he doesn't want to do this kind of work.

Unlike the method of direct assessment, which treats the criteria for choosing and rejecting occupational goals having specific relevance for the respondent, the Choice Pattern technique is designed to reveal the nature of the criteria persons use to select from occupational possibilities that are perceived as open to them. This technique, which has been developed by Tyler and used with college students and with early adolescents (60, 62), is described by her as entailing the following steps.

> A set of items is presented to the subject on individual cards. His first instructions are to sort them into two groups, those he sees as "possibilities for a person like you" and those he sees as "out of the question for a person like you." He places an item in a "No Opinion" category if he is unable to decide about it either positively or negatively.
>
> At the second stage of the procedure he is asked to group items that "go together in your mind," that "you choose for the same reason" or "rule out for the same reason." The third stage of the procedure involves questioning him about the reasons for his groupings. The interviewer records on a data sheet for each individual his combinations of positive items, his combinations

> of negative items, the reasons he gives for his groupings, and other aspects of his performance, such as the number of "No Opinion" items, the number of ungrouped items on the positive and negative sides, and anything the subject says that seems to throw light on the way he thinks. The procedure is essentially a special kind of interview rather than a standardized test.
>
> The items used in the present study were a set of 50 occupational titles. . . . These lists were based primarily on a tabulation of responses given by groups of 14-year old Dutch and American children to a request that they write down all the occupations they could think of. No item was included in the Choice Pattern set unless it was listed by at least 10 per cent of the people in both groups. (63)

In sum, the method of direct assessment and the Choice Pattern technique correspond closely in that they both require respondents to make positive and negative choices of occupational goals and then with open-ended questions seek to elicit the reasons for these choices and exclusions. They differ, however, in the extent to which the respondents have had to structure their occupational objectives. The Choice Pattern does not require that respondents have specifically formulated job goals, but only that they recognize occupational possibilities that are open to them. Since results with the Choice Pattern technique have been reported elsewhere (63), only the results from the method of direct assessment will be reported in the present paper.

Coding Procedures

Detailed coding instructions for the morphology have been prepared, and a copy of these instructions can be found in Appendix B. For the large part, the coding procedures are self explanatory, but there are a few aspects that merit brief mention.

One is that parallel forms of the codes have been developed for the choice and exclusion data so that each can be analyzed separately. Secondly, in developing the code for the choice data, we have made a threefold distinction among referent items that serve as: (1) a positive criterion of choice; (2) a negative criterion of choice; and (3) a consideration in choice, but not a criterion. For example, a subject might indicate that he wants to become a politician because of the status involved. This would be an instance of "status" used as a positive criterion of choice. Alternatively, a subject might say he wants to become a salesman because he doesn't like working with his hands. This would be an instance of "work with hands" as a negative criterion of choice. Finally, a subject might indicate that he wants to enter high school teaching even though he recognizes that teaching does not pay so well as other kinds of jobs he might enter. This would be an instance where economic benefits have been considered,

/

but have not been used as a criterion. Obviously, for many purposes, analysis would only focus on positive criteria. Still, there are some instances where the major interest would be in the elements of choice taken into consideration regardless of whether they were used as positive criteria; and with the present coding system, this can be accomplished.

Another significant aspect of the coding is the weighting system used for statements of positive criteria involving status, security, and economic benefits. While two persons might use economic benefits as a positive criterion, they need not have the same magnitude of anticipated rewards in mind. One might be oriented to a particular occupation because it offers a chance for "making good money," while the second may be satisfied with an occupation because it provides "a decent income." The code used for these three elements of choice takes this variation into account by weighing statements of positive criteria as high, medium, or low. This way, we have been able to capitalize on using open-ended rather than forced-choice questions for eliciting statements of choice criteria.

The coding procedures have proven relatively easy to use, indicating that the morphology is capable of being translated into empirical terms. Coding reliability has been found to be satisfactory; and on grounds already discussed, face validity can be claimed for the morphology. A fuller test, however, requires evidence that the MOC categories can discriminate effectively between groups known to be different in their orientation to the future and their outlook on the world of work. The procedures and findings for such a test will be found in the subsequent pages. Before turning our attention to the validation study, we want first to describe a significant by-product of the present pre-study. This is a scale that has been developed for assessing youth's time perspective for viewing the future.

The Social Time Perspective Scale

A theoretically and practically significant question that emerged in the present research was whether youth from socially underprivileged circumstances have a more circumscribed time span governing their orientation to the future. And if so, are they likely to develop job goals more as a matter of the immediate circumstances confronting them than as a matter of prior planning. In the course of seeking an answer to this question, three separate procedures have been developed and tried out as ways to measure the time span of youth's orientation to the world around them.

One technique consisted of using forced-choice questions to inquire how frequently youth think about what they will be doing at four designated periods in the future: age 20, age 30, age 40, and age 50. For each period, youth are given four options for responding: Not at All, Rarely, Occasionally, and Frequently.

A second technique involved the use of open-ended questions that require respondents to pinpoint chronologically three crucial time periods in man's life cycle: adulthood, middle-age, and old age (e.g., "When, in your opinion, is a person old?") The guiding assumption here was that a shortened time perspective might be reflected in a collapsed conception of age.

The third, and most nondirective, of these techniques involved a time perspective instrument developed by Vincent (64) that is used in open-ended fashion to gain information on events that respondents think will happen to them in the future. With coding procedures worked out in the pre-study, it has been possible to derive a Social Time Perspective Scale that has turned out to be one of the most useful methodological procedures to emerge from the present research. In the remainder of this section, we shall describe in greater detail the instrument that was used and the scales that have been developed for it.

The Time Perspective Instrument

This device consists of a two-page response form on which the subject is instructed to report seven things he thinks is going to happen to him in the future, sometime during the rest of his life. He is instructed that these can be either things that he is looking forward to or that he would not like to happen. Probe questions are then used for each event cited to ascertain when he expects this to happen and whether he expects this event will be unpleasant or pleasant. While developed originally for use in interviews, this instrument can be used in self-administered questionnaires.

Coding Procedures

The instrument upon first inspection would appear to lend itself well to the task of calibrating respondents' temporal perspectives. By examining the time indicated for future events to happen, we should be able to ascertain (a) the unit of time (whether days, weeks, months, years, or decades) used and (b) the total span of time involved. Upon closer scrutiny, however, this analytical distinction turned out not to be practicable. The unit of time reported was generally a function of the span of time involved, so that proximal events were apt to be reported in days, weeks, or months while distant events were apt to be reported in years. For this reason, there was little utility to coding the unit of time.

Coding of the span of time did not, however, lend itself to easy calibration. The main difficulty was that respondents did not employ comparable or well-calibrated time units in reporting future events.

While some did specify in precise fashion the dates or ages when events would happen, there were many exceptions. Among these are the following:

1. Some gave an open-ended period of time, such as "God knows. I don't."

2. Others reported temporally unspecified contingencies: "I'll become a grandfather--when my children have children."

3. Others qualified with contingencies the time that events would occur, e.g., "I shall start graduate school--if I get drafted, 7 years from now; if not, 4 years from now."

4. Others reported events occurring within intervals of time rather than at points of time. By itself this would pose no problem, except that the lengths of the intervals varied. How do you compare the following three periods for "buying a house": (a) 5 years, (b) 3-7 years, (c) 1-10 years? One might compute the median length of time for "b" and "c" with the result that all three periods entail equally distant time perspectives. But are they? Equally plasible arguments can be employed for using either the maximum or the minimum limits of the intervals, and both of the latter decisions would yield a drastically different order of results.

5. A related problem is the use of pseudo-intervals for reporting events, as for example, the response: "I'll be taking a job--a year from now, for the rest of my life." Is this a one-year time span or a "45-year" time span?

For a long while, the temporal indeterminacy of the information appeared to pose insuperable problems for coding. It was not until near the end of the present project that it was realized that the solution lay in using social, rather than chronological, time for coding anticipated future events.

The clue for this reformulation of the problem was found in the sociological literature on the family life cycle where time is assessed along social rather than biological units. (Cf., 26) Persons go through social stages of development that take them from infancy to early childhood, childhood, early adolescence, adolescence, young adulthood, and adulthood. Though these stages correspond to biological time periods, the important thing is that they are socially rather than biologically defined. Moreover, it can be assumed that it is the socially defined stage of the life cycle that assumes personal significance to the "actor" and others with whom he is in social contact.

Once the issue was phrased in terms of social time, it was possible to reconceptualize the responses to the time perspective instrument as statements about "status episodes" in the future corresponding to the adult life cycle. So long as the life cycle could be assumed to be sequentially ordered, the task of assessing individuals' temporal perspectives reduced to one of determining how far along this future sequence of status episodes their answers fell. For purposes of coding, the adult life cycle was defined as consisting of the following eight episodes or stages (nine, if death is included as the terminal episode):

1. Late Adolescence

   Training (or education) for life, including matriculation as well as graduation

2. Military Service

3. Initial Adult Phase (A)

   Entry into the labor force, marriage

4. Initial Adult Phase (B)

   Buying or renting a home

5. Early Adult Role

   Parenthood or early career (or work sequence) events

6. Intermediate Adult Role

   Midlife events (e.g., seeing children grow up, sending children to college)

7. Late Adult Role (A)

   Becoming a grandparent

8. Late Adult Role (B)

   Retirement

Once the problem of coding was defined in social terms, it was possible to develop five social time perspective scales for assessing how youth used time in viewing the future. Two of these scales assess the maximum event in the life cycle reported (one with death included as a status episode, the second with death excluded). The third scale examines the extent to which the subject's order for reporting life cycle events parallels the temporal sequence of the life cycle. The fourth scale examines the number of levels of the adult life cycle that are encompassed by the subject's responses. Finally, the fifth scale examines the number of adult life cycle events which the subject enumerates in his total answer.

Other Dimensions

Apart from providing a means of estimating the time span used by youth, the data from the temporal perspective instrument offer a number of other dimensions of relevance for occupational choice. The most noteworthy of these are: (1) the saliency of work, i.e., the extent to which work is spontaneously in the forefront of the subject's thoughts about the future; (2) the specificity of work, i.e., the extent to which the subject articulates his work goals; (3) the comparative relevance of work in the network of life decisions that youth must make about marriage, owning a home, getting an education, and owning a new car; and (4) the degree to which a sequence of work plans is contemplated--a scale that might be extremely useful for distinguishing among females with short-term work goals, interrupted career plans, and uninterrupted career plans.

Deferred Gratification

A factor closely related to social time perspective is the willingness of youth to forego immediate social and psychic rewards in order to gain desired social rewards in the future. This willingness to defer gratifications has long been considered an important element in differentiating middle-class youth from their counterparts in the lower class. (1, 7, 48, 57) The difficulty with earlier evidence is that it has failed to distinguish between deferred gratification, per se, and youth's time-perspective for viewing the future. For this reason, an independent effort has been made to assess the willingness of youth at different socioeconomic levels to sacrifice selected social rewards in order to gain their occupational and educational goals.

Two comparable check lists were developed to ascertain what kinds of things respondents would be willing to do "to get a job where they could really make good money" and "to get the education they wanted." The respondents were given a choice of answering: Definitely Yes, Probably Yes, Probably No, or Definitely No to the following items on gratification deferral for occupational goals:

A. Move to a town or place you don't like.

B. Put off getting married for several years.

C. Take a job you are not sure will last.

D. Move away from your family and relatives so you could only see them once a year.

E. Live on a tight budget for several years.

F. Go without having your own car for several years.

G. Put in a 60-hour week.

Except for items "C" and "G," which only have relevance for occupational goals, the same set of items was asked regarding gratification deferral for educational goals. The two substitute items included in the latter check list were:

C. Take a "flunky" job.

G. Spend six nights a week at home studying.

The variables singled out for the pre-study are not intended to be exhaustive of those relevant for understanding the occupational decision process. Many intrapersonal factors, such as achievement motivation, achievement values, and measured intelligence, have not been included. Neither has an effort been made to determine what significant persons inside or outside the family may be providing the social supports needed for developing and implementing work goals or the roles that these persons actually play. Such variables eventually will have to be incorporated into the research design of the project being contemplated on planned and unplanned aspects of occupational choices by youth. In the formative stage of the project, we have been content to concentrate on developing and operationalizing a limited number of concepts that appear to have particular relevance for the larger inquiry.

Method

Data for testing the morphology of occupational choice and related variables were gathered from two radically different samples of male adolescents: college-age youth starting training at the Tongue Point Job Corps Center, Tongue Point, Oregon and male freshmen enrolled at the University of Oregon. The main considerations in selecting these samples were their relative accessibility and the sharp divergences between these youth in their backgrounds and experiences. The job corpsmen represent--perhaps in an exaggerated way--the hard core unemployables in the lower class. Virtually all of the job corpsmen had dropped out (or been expelled) from school and in this way given evidence of an inability to adjust to an institutionalized middle-class existence. Related to this was a lack of the technical and social skills needed for getting and holding a job in today's society. In contrast, the University of Oregon freshmen typify the moderately ambitious middle-class youth in our society who are seeking to use higher education as at least a means for maintaining their log in life and, in most cases, for improving it. Their presence at the University of Oregon can be taken as evidence of their having been able to meet satisfactorily the social and academic demands of high school life. While all will not graduate from college, their presence on campus does serve as testimony to their commitment to the pursuit of middle-class goals of success.

Such pronounced differences in the social composition of the two samples provided a strategic basis for testing the utility of the conceptual schemes that have been developed. If these procedures could not differentiate between two groups so markedly disparate in their outlook on life and presumably in their orientation to the world of work, then the validity of these procedures would certainly be negated.

A second, and even more sensitive, test of the validity of the procedures which have been developed was their ability to discriminate between survivors and non-survivors in the Job Corps program. For this purpose, a two-month follow-up was made to determine which trainees had in this brief period of time been severed from the program, the assumption being that those who dropped out of the program right at the start would be ones most likely to have poorly defined orientations to the world of work.

Sampling Procedures

The job corpsmen chosen for the pre-study consisted of 120 unmarried males ranging in age from 17 through 19 who were for the first time beginning their training in the job corps program. They were selected by taking all new arrivals at Tongue Point during the period from February 26, 1966 to April 9, 1966--except for those who had transferred to Tongue Point from other programs and those who were under 17 or over 20 years of age. All told, there were 130 males who met these criteria. Of these, 120 (92 per cent) actually participated in the pre-study. Follow-up interviews were conducted again with these corpsmen after a period of two months. During this interim, 23 had already been severed from the program, leaving a total of 97 in the sample. Of the 97, we succeeded in interviewing 86.

The sample is obviously not a random one either of all job corpsmen or of job corpsmen at Tongue Point. Rather it reflects whatever vagaries might be present in the allocation procedures for assigning trainees to Tongue Point during this period. Reliance on the present sampling procedure in spite of this limitation was dictated by (1) the need for having data at the time of entry on those trainees who would leave the program at an early stage and return home and (2) the importance of gaining data from the trainees before their exposure to the job corps program might systematically affect their aspirations and expectations regarding the future.

The University of Oregon freshman sample consisted of 48 unmarried males ranging in age from 17 through 19 who were for the first time enrolled in college. They were selected by drawing a random sample of all single first-year freshmen residing in the University of Oregon dormitories in April 1966, a procedure which excluded the approximately 20 per cent of the freshman class who live at home with their parents. The sample contained 53 males, and of these, 48 (91 per cent) were actually interviewed. A re-test session was held with this same group three weeks later. Of the original sample, 46 participated in the re-test.

Initially, our intent was to combine our results from the freshman interviews with parallel data gathered from 41 identically sampled male freshmen to whom mass-administered questionnaires were given. However, as we shall note in the final section of the results, the sharp discrepancy between interview and questionnaire data made this plan impracticable even though it would have had the desirable effect of increasing the number of cases for comparative analysis to 89.

Source of Data

The major source of data for the pre-study was respondents' self reports. With the job corpsmen, these were obtained through 40-minute semi-structured interviews conducted by interviewers trained by the research staff. The majority of interviewers were white males in their twenties who were seniors or graduate students at the University of Oregon, but no effort was made at social homogeneity. Some of the interviewers were non-Caucasians, some were females, and some were not students. A fortunate, but unplanned, development was that two of the interviewers were fluent in Spanish. This made it possible to interview Mexican-American and Puerto Rican trainees whose lack of command of the English language would otherwise have prevented their inclusion in the study. The variability of the social characteristics of the interviewers undoubtedly had some effect on the interviews, but no attepmt was made to gauge this effect. It was our impression, however, that without non-Caucasian interviewers we would have been less apt to secure the cooperation of the non-Caucasians in the sample.

The interview schedule was derived in large part from research done previously by the chief investigators on college undergraduates and youth in early adolescence. Before its use in the present pre-study, the interview schedule was extensively pre-tested on selected samples of job corpsmen and numerous revisions made to help insure that the questions were phrased in language understandable to youth lacking educational advantages and that the terms used were not biased toward middle-class goals and values. In addition, an attempt was made to remove all items that might threaten the job corpsmen by unnecessarily reminding them of their past failures in life or their present anxieties. Finally, attention was given to the problem of keeping the content and tasks in the interview sufficiently varied to maintain the attention of the respondents over the forty minute period required for the interview. How successful we were in these steps is a matter for conjecture, but in the majority of cases the interviewers reported that interviews went smoothly and fairly effortlessly--and this was a pronounced improvement over our experience in the initial pre-test where we had found ourselves talking over the heads of the trainees despite an effort to keep the content and wording simple.

A second source of data on the job corpsmen were administrative records that provided information on those who were severed from the training program.

For the University of Oregon freshmen, as we have already noted, two methods of collection self-report data were used. Approximately one half of the students (48) were interviewed, while the remainder (41) were given mass-administered questionnaires. The purpose for this was to have a basis for determining the relative efficacy of interviews and questionnaires for gaining information on occupational choice and its related factors. (Originally, a similar test had been planned for Tongue Point, but the initial pre-test quickly revealed that the low level of reading skills possessed by the trainees made the use of questionnaires unfeasible.)

The questionnaires and interview schedules used with the Oregon freshmen were abbreviated versions of the interview schedules used at Tongue Point, containing only those items and instruments for which there was a readily perceived need for comparative data. The questionnaires and interview schedules were identical in content and format and required approximately 20 to 25 minutes to administer. The same interviewers who had worked at Tongue Point also served as interviewers in this phase of the pre-study.

Control of Error

Despite the exploratory nature of the research, considerable attention was given to the reduction of observational and measurement error. One time-consuming step was to have the research staff make numerous one- and two-day visits to Tongue Point over a number of months prior to the time the main interviews were scheduled. It was hoped that by becoming familiar figures at Tongue Point we might reduce the antipathy youth from the lower class feel toward middle-class strangers (Cf., 5, pp. 323-325), particularly if those strangers are perceived as representing institutionalized authority--as researchers from the University of Oregon might be. A related purpose of these visits was to familiarize the interviewers with the surroundings in which they would be working and to make them more comfortable in dealing with youth coming from lower-class backgrounds quite different from their own. While the latter aim was achieved, it is difficult to judge how successful we were in breaking down the defensiveness that the trainees might have had about talking openly and candidly in the interview situation. It is certainly quite clear that with enough money and time a more effective step would have been to have had the interviewers stay at the Center for a month and participate freely in its activities before conducting interviews.

Other steps taken to control error involved the double coding and keypunching--with independent verification--of all data processed for computer analysis. In addition, careful selection, training, and supervision of personnel was undertaken to avoid as much as possible the pitfalls of "hired hand research" about which Roth has warned. (47)

Results

Social Differences between Job Corpsmen and Oregon Freshmen

Crucial to the validation effort is our premise that job corpsmen and University of Oregon freshmen differ markedly in their background, experiences, and outlook on the future. Though no one is likely to question this premise, still it may be instructive to examine the magnitude of the differences involved.

Effects of Social Selection. Table 1 compares selected social characteristics of these two groups. For this comparison, data on the job corpsmen have been taken directly from the pre-study interviews; but due to the abbreviated interview schedules used in the Oregon phase of the pre-study, background data on this particular sample are not available. Instead, it has been necessary to rely on questionnaire results from an earlier study of a probability sample of freshmen entering the University of Oregon in the fall of 1961. (15) Since the questionnaire for the earlier research served as the prototype for the present pre-study, the information collected is fully comparable to that obtained on the job corps trainees. Moreover, the information is sufficiently factual that it should not be sensitive to the effect of relying on questionnaires rather than interviews for data collection.

The results in Table 1 reveal pronounced regional differences between the two samples. Oregon freshmen in the main come from the Far West, with 74 per cent being Oregon residents. In contrast, only one out of six trainees at Tongue Point are from the Far West--a finding that is not unexpected since trainees in the program were recruited on a national rather than a regional basis.

A second, and again anticipated, result is the striking dissimilarity in the social backgrounds of these two groups. Oregon freshmen are a predominantly white, middle-class group who come from stable homes in which both parents are present. While only 39 per cent of the students report having at least one parent who has graduated from college, still in the majority of cases at least one parent has been to college. The middle-class status of the families is further reflected in the occupations held by the fathers. Most are gainfully employed in white-collar occupations that for the large part fall at the middle-range of occupational prestige, although a minority of the fathers

(21 per cent) are employed in blue-collar positions. In almost half of the homes, the mother holds a part-time or full-time job that takes her away from the household during the day--usually to a job where she is employed in a secretarial, semi-professional, or professional capacity.

By contrast, the job corpsmen are a racially mixed group who in large measure come from lower-class backgrounds--a fact that reflects the special disadvantage at which minority groups find themselves in today's society. The usual correlation between family disorganization and low social status is very much in evidence in this sample. Fifty-six per cent of the trainees come from homes broken by death, divorce, separation, or desertion. As also would be expected, the educational attainments of the parents are low. Only a relatively small minority have completed high school, and even fewer have ever been to college. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the fathers of most of the trainees (72 per cent) are in blue-collar jobs--usually involving unskilled and semi-skilled work--and even this figure underestimates the total since 14 per cent of the trainees did not know what kind of work their father does. The mothers of the job corpsmen are a little less likely than mothers of Oregon freshmen to be working outside the home, but 71 per cent of the mothers who are working are employed in blue-collar occupations that require little skill or training.

Not surprisingly, the educational attainments of the job corpsmen fall far below those of the Oregon freshmen. With but one exception, none of the trainees has graduated from high school, while the majority (59 per cent) have never attended high school.

Besides going farther in school, the Oregon freshmen also appear to have found it a more relevant social experience. Sixty-nine per cent of the freshmen, for example, report having taken an active leadership role in the extracurricular world of high school life, a fact indicative not only of their extensive involvement in school activities but also of the social rewards they were able to gain from their participation. Moreover, their experiences in high school are seen by them as having had a significant bearing upon their future life decisions regarding college and work. Seventy-seven per cent of the Oregon students report that their decision to go to college was importantly influenced by persons or experiences connected with the high school, and 75 per cent report having been similarly influenced in deciding upon their future occupational plans.

No direct effort was made to assess the degree to which the job corps trainees had been involved in the extracurricular programs at the schools they had attended, but the comments they volunteered indicate that this involvement was at best minimal. Consistent with this is the fact that their prior school experiences had relatively little influence on either their decision to enter the job corps or on their thinking about their occupational plans. This does not, however, imply that they were unaware of the need for having an education in today's technological society. In fact, eight out of ten of the job corpsmen reported that graduating from high school is something that is "very important" to them, and 60 per cent expressed the hope that they would eventually graduate from high school or get its equivalent through a G. E. D. certificate.

Outlook on the Future. That these differences in background and experiences are not without implication for the way in which these youth view their future is shown by data presented in Tables 2 and 3. For the latter analysis, use has been made of the interview data collected from the Oregon freshmen in the pre-study.

Taking Table 2 first, we find that choosing a job is but one of a network of life decisions confronting both trainees in the job corps and college freshmen, but one that appears to be a matter of more pressing concern to the trainees. Seventy-eight per cent of the latter, compared to 57 per cent of the Oregon freshmen, report having seriously thought about the kind of work they want to do when they start working--more, so far as the trainees are concerned, than have thought about going to college, getting married, owning their own home, or owning a new car. Moreover, at this point in their lives, the trainees are more likely than the Oregon freshmen to be preoccupied with the question of what their occupational future holds for them. Two out of three job corpsmen indicate that this is a matter they think about frequently--twice a week or more--while only 39 per cent of the freshmen at Oregon report this to be the case. Further evidence that work is more a matter of direct concern to the trainees is suggested by the finding that 96 per cent of them indicate that it is "very important" to them to have a steady job, a response given by only 67 per cent of the Oregon freshmen.

That these findings are obtained is not too surprising. The trainees at Tongue Point have already encountered the frustrations of trying to carve out a living without possessing the requisite training or skills for doing so. For most of the Oregon freshmen, the task of seeking a full-time job still lies in the future, and when they do so it will be from a more favored vantage point. This difference in the status circumstances of the two groups undoubtedly has an important bearing on why the trainees at Tongue Point have a more restrained attitude about the feasibility of attaining such life goals as going to college, getting married, owning your own home, owning a new car, and getting the job you want to do. In the four instances where comparisons are possible, the trainees are consistently more likely than the Oregon freshmen to rate the chances of realizing these goals as only fair or poor. Yet, it is also important to note that there is only one area where the trainees express strong doubts about the feasibility of these goals; and this, quite realistically, concerns their chances for going to college. Thus, with this one exception, the mood of the job corpsmen regarding the future might better be described as one of tempered optimism rather than one of outright pessimism.

Table 3 offers further details on how these youth view the future. When confronted with the task of specifying what kind of work they want to do, job corpsmen are as likely as Oregon freshmen to indicate that they know what their goals are and to phrase their answers in terms of specialized occupational titles rather than in terms of broad fields or areas of work. Moreover, their answers suggest that their work goals are no more likely to be a product of spur-of-the-moment decisions than are the work goals cited by students at Oregon. Yet, despite these similarities, it is also apparent that the two groups differ fundamentally in their levels of occupational aspirations. While the majority of Oregon freshmen set their sights on very high status occupations, as measured by Hollingshead's occupational prestige scale (29), the majority of trainees at Tongue Point choose occupations scored as low in prestige on the same scale. Just as importantly, the modal levels chosen are so far apart that there is relatively little overlap in the status aspirations of the two groups. As such, these findings are consistent with the extensive data from the stratification literature which show that youth from lower socioeconomic strata do not aspire to the same levels of occupational success as those from more favored backgrounds. (Cf., 49) Nevertheless, as Empey's work suggests (16), evidence of differences in absolute levels of aspiration does not necessarily signify a lack of ambition on the part of those coming from the lower strata, for their goals may still be relatively higher than the occupations held by their fathers--and, thus, if realized, would mark an improvement over their past status circumstances. This is precisely the case with the present subjects. Though the trainees at Tongue Point do not aspire for middle-class occupations, they do aspire for skilled blue-collar jobs which, if attained, would represent a decided improvement over their father's occupational position. Therefore, when compared to their father's occupational attainments, their occupational goals reflect an ambition to improve their lot in life even though these goals are not commensurate with those held by youth coming from middle-class backgrounds. Quite clearly, then, there is a need to consider the relative as well as the absolute level of occupational aspirations if we are to understand the job corpsmen's orientation to the world of work. Once this is done, we are then in a position to account for the otherwise incongruous fact that even more job corpsmen than Oregon freshmen clearly expect to have a job better than their father's (79 per cent vs. 54 per cent).

Summary. The findings detailed so far bear out the premise that these two groups have encountered widely different experiences in their formative years, experiences that have led these youth to develop quite disparate profiles of aspirations and expectations about what the future holds in store for them. The task still remains to determine whether the morphological categories developed for the pre-study provides an empirically effective scheme for analyzing the criteria these youth use for choosing (or rejecting) occupational alternatives.

Morphology of Occupational Choice Findings (First Test)

The first test of the morphology involved its ability to discriminate between groups known to have different perspectives of their future occupational roles. For this test, a direct assessment was made of (1) the criteria job corpsmen and college freshmen used for considering occupations that they plan to enter--or are thinking about entering--to be "good jobs" and, conversely, (2) the criteria employed for rejecting jobs they already know they do not want.

The distribution of findings for the main MOC categories is presented in Table 4, while a more detailed breakdown by the 27 MOC elements is presented in Table 5. In both tables, separate analysis has been made of the choice and exclusion data.

Examination of these tables reveals that youth from both groups are able to report in considerable detail their considerations for rejecting as well as choosing jobs--although in both cases, use of the exclusion process is somewhat less in evidence. At Tongue Point, 94 per cent of the trainees are able to specify what kind of work they want to do and to offer reasons for their choices, while 72 per cent are able to specify particular occupations they have rejected as being unsuitable for them and to report their rationale for having done so. At the University of Oregon, comparable results are obtained: 98 per cent of the freshmen are able to indicate what job choices they have made and to report their reasons for these choices, while 77 per cent are able to do so for jobs they have excluded from consideration. Thus, these findings lend support to our premise that occupational decisions are shaped by a process of progressive exclusion as well as by a process of progressive choice.

Of equal relevance is the wide range of criteria that youth in the pre-study draw upon in making occupational decisions. In part, this is evidenced by the fact that all four of the main MOC categories are employed by at least a sizable minority of the respondents for expressing their reasons for reaching occupational decisions, although, of course, it is not true that each and every person does so. The one category that might at first glance appear to constitute an exception is that of Extra-Role Considerations. As Table 4 shows, this category has not been widely used by either group. However, there is very little overlap between positive and negative choices by persons reporting this category, so that the findings have underestimated its total use. When a count is made of the total number of times it is used for either positive or negative choices rather than for each separately we find that 22 per cent of the Oregon freshmen and 4 per cent of the trainees in the job corps take extra-role considerations into account in reaching occupational decision.. While far from a majority response, still it occurs frequently enough to merit its continued inclusion in the morphology--particularly since the category proves to be highly diagnostic of differences in background.

Further evidence that a wide range of criteria govern occupational decisions is provided by the more detailed results in Table 5. With the single exception of adventure--which no one mentions--all the elements in the morphology are given some expression by youth in the pre-study. Still, there are a number of elements that are cited infrequently. These are: leadership, responsibility, duration of job task, fringe benefits, and schedule of payments. The relative infrequency with which they have been used suggests that the morphology in its present form may have been overelaborated beyond necessity. However, before a decision to this effect is made, it would seem desirable to have further evidence for doing so--evidence derived from a much broader sample of youth than that relied on in the present pre-study.

The central finding, so far as the validity of the morphology is concerned, is that the two groups of youth are revealed by this method of analysis to have markedly different orientations to the world of work. One basic area in which such differences are found is in the extent to which occupational decisions are governed by considerations of the intrinsic features of the work task. As can be seen from the tabulated results, freshmen at the University of Oregon are far more likely than the job corps trainees to be seeking work in occupations that provide them a chance for self fulfillment and at the same time are more apt to be rejecting those occupations which do not offer them this avenue of satisfaction. An important facet of this finding is the contrastingly different emphasis placed on the intellective aspects of the work role. It is rare for job corpsmen to indicate that it is important for them to have a job that offers a creative challenge or a chance for working with ideas. For college freshmen, on the other hand, this is a matter of considerable concern, and is particularly an important factor in their deciding upon what jobs they do not want to take. Similarly, college freshmen are more apt to be concerned with the question of how stimulating their future work will be. This is an especially salient consideration in their rejection of occupational alternatives, so that unlike the job corps trainees they are likely to rule out as undesirable for them jobs that appear to be dull and routine.

This does not signify that the trainees at Tongue Point are completely insensitive to the need for finding satisfaction in the work role. They are as concerned as college students in obtaining work which interests them and are far more concerned with what might be termed the mundane details of the work task. Here, a major issue is the conditions under which work takes place, whether it is dirty, noisy, unsafe, or otherwise unpleasant. The results show it is jobs having these unpleasant work conditions that they wish to avoid. And here may lie a fundamental dilemma that socially underprivileged youth face in finding suitable employment; namely, that the jobs open to individuals with their training and skills are for the large part jobs they openly reject for having unsuitable work conditions.

The results reveal two further ways in which the college freshmen depart from the job corpsmen in their orientation to work. One, as we have already noted, is the greater extent to which college students take extra-role considerations into account in making occupational decisions. The second is the extent to which self appraisal enters as a factor in these decisions. As Table 4 shows, college freshmen are more likely than the trainees to mention having considered their own ability, experiences, training, and personality in reaching decisions about occupational goals--and particularly in rejecting occupational alternatives.

One area where differences in orientation might be anticipated, but none was revealed, is in the importance attached to the extrinsic rewards of work. Of particular interest here is the factor of security, which others have found to weigh heavily in the job decisions made by persons at the lower levels of the class structure. (Cf., 4, 5, 30, 37, 40) The morphology data do not bear out this contention. If anything, the results show a greater emphasis on occupational security by youth from the middle class than by those from the lower class.

In conclusion, the results of the first test of the morphology indicate that:

1. The morphology does have a wide range of empirical applicability.

2. It is a useful device for ascertaining class-linked differences among youth in their orientation to their future occupational roles.

3. The differences obtained are more readily revealed by what youth say about the occupational goals they reject than by what they say about the occupational goals they choose.

Morphology of Occupational Choice (Second Test)

That the morphology can be used to differentiate between job corpsmen and college youth coming from entirely different backgrounds provides only a limited test of its validity. A far more critical test is whether it can be used to predict differences in behavior among youth coming from the same socioeconomic circumstances. A strategic group for such a test is provided by the 20 job corpsmen out of the 113 initially interviewed (for whom morphology data were available) who terminated their training at Tongue Point within two months from the time they first started. Their abrupt departure from the program suggests that as a group they may be having serious difficulty in finding work to be a meaningful activity. If this hypothesis has merit--and certainly others with equal plausibility could be advanced--then it should be reflected in the reasons given by the drop outs for choosing (or rejecting) occupational alternatives. (It should be remembered that the data were obtained *before* the boys made their decisions to leave the training center).

The results from the morphology are presented in Table 6. They reveal that a systematically different pattern of criteria are used by the trainees who turn out to be early drop outs as compared to the trainees who continue in the program. As a group, the drop outs are much less likely to be seeking work in which they can gain some sense of self fulfillment. They appear, instead, to be operating more on the opposite principle of avoiding jobs which they do not like to do or in which they might encounter unpleasant work conditions. Seemingly, they are in the position of not knowing what they want to do, but of knowing what they do not want to do.

There is also a possible suggestion from the findings in Table 6 that the early drop outs may have a more ego-centered attitude to work. This is suggested by the tendency for the early drop outs to be more preoccupied with the status rewards of the job than with the security the job offers. This represents a reversal of the priorities assigned these rewards by other trainees at Tongue Point. It is also a reversal of the usual priorities assigned these rewards by persons who comprise the stable segment of the working class. (40)

Thus, the findings from the second test provide further evidence of the predictive utility of the morphology. How useful it will prove to be in other kinds of settings with other populations remains a question for future research.

Social Time Perspective Scale Findings

Table 7 shows the utility of the Social Time Perspective Scale for differentiating among (1) job corps trainees and an ad hoc sample of University of Oregon students and (2) early drop outs from the job corps program and trainees who remained in the program beyond the first two months. The use of an ad hoc rather than a probability sample of students for this part of the analysis is the kind of compromise one is sometimes forced to make in exploratory research. In the present case, it was forced on us by the lateness of the solution to the problem of scaling the time perspective data. Enough time did not remain for testing the instrument on a probability sample of students--although such a test is now underway. Instead, data for a provisional intergroup comparison was obtained from male students enrolled in an undergraduate sociology class. As a consequence, the results presented can only be considered illustrative. Still the differences obtained are sufficiently striking to give promise that the Social Time Perspective Scale is capable of measuring class-linked differences in modes of temporal orientation and that such differences as are revealed do have significant behavioral consequences.

Specifically, the findings reveal that the trainees at Tongue Point are not accustomed to thinking in sustained fashion about what the future holds in store for them. With but few exceptions, they found the task of responding to the time perspective instrument a difficult one. Even with patient probing by the interviewers, most trainees were not able to think of seven future events. On the average, they reported only 3.64 future events, a figure that falls far below the mean of 6.24 events reported by the Oregon students.

It is also apparent from the findings in Table 7 that the trainees are less future oriented than the Oregon students. While most of the job corpsmen do include in their responses references to getting a job and getting married, the majority do not go beyond these events when reporting on the future, and relatively few project far enough ahead in time to be thinking about what would be happening to them at the intermediate or later stages of the adult role. Most Oregon students, on the other hand, include in their responses references to events in the early adult role (i.e., parenthood and early work events); and many make reference to events from the intermediate and later stages of the adult role (e.g., seeing their children grow up).

If the most distant life cycle events reported are scored on a 9-point scale, the mean social time perspective score for the trainees is 4.27, as compared to a mean of 6.41 for the Oregon students. (When death is excluded as a category, the mean social time perspective scores for the two groups are 3.83 and 5.28.) In general, then, the trainees at Tongue Point score about two adult life cycle levels below the Oregon students in the temporal perspective of the future.

Some evidence that their more abbreviated perspective of the future is not simply an artifact of the trainees having reported a more limited number of responses is provided by the findings in Tables 8 and 9. When asked to specify how frequently they have been thinking about what they will be doing at four future age levels, the trainees indicate that they have given considerably less thought than the Oregon students to what will be happening to them in the early and intermediate adult years (i.e., ages 20, 30, and 40). In addition, the trainees appear to have a shortened conception of middle age and to some extent of old age. Approximately half of the job corpsmen define as middle aged persons who are 35 and under. At Oregon, only 19 per cent of the students do so. There is much less of a difference between the two groups in their definition of old age, but there still is a tendency for more job corpsmen than Oregon students to classify as old persons who are 55 and under. The consistency between the results in Tables 8 and 9 and those in Table 7 suggests that the Social Time Perspective Scale is, in fact, measuring the extent to which these youth are future oriented.

That these differences in temporal perspective are so readily evidenced suggests that an important factor contributing to the difficulties that have confronted the job corpsmen may be their inability to adopt a long-term view of their plans for the future. While no direct test of this hypothesis is possible with the present data, some indirect evidence is provided by the trainees who fail to stay in the program for more than two months. As Table 7 shows, these early drop outs are even more likely than other trainees to be taking a short-term view of what the future holds in store for them. The average social time perspective for the early drop outs is 3.93; for survivors, it is 4.45. (When death is excluded as a category, scores of 3.38 and 3.93 are obtained). That those who survive in the program have a longer time perspective suggests that this factor may be related to the adjustment trainees make to the demands of the program--and by implication to the demands that will be made of them if they are to succeed in having a stable work career.

Findings on Deferred Gratification

For the analysis of the deferred gratification hypothesis, a comparison was made between the willingness of job corpsmen and freshmen at the University of Oregon to forego immediate social and psychic rewards for gaining (1) desired occupational goals and (2) desired educational objectives. The findings from these analyses are presented in Tables 10 and 11, respectively.

Quite a different pattern of results emerges from the two sets of data. On the one hand, the data on gratification deferral for gaining occupational objectives reveal no systematic tendency on the part of the trainees at Tongue Point to be unwilling to postpone immediate rewards. Of the seven items on the check list, there are only two where the answers are consistent with the deferred gratification hypothesis. These are: (1) taking a job you are not sure will last and (2) moving away from your family and relatives so you could only see them once a year. And of these last two items, there is some basis for considering the first one an invalid measure of gratification deferral. It would, instead, appear to be measuring the degree to which respondents are willing to risk job security. While a reticence to risk job security may have significant bearing on the occupational choices made by lower-class youth, it may be misleading to equate this reticence with an unwillingness to defer gratifications.

In contrast, the findings from Table 11 reveal a general pattern of unwillingness on the part of the trainees to postpone immediate rewards in order to get the education they want. This is particularly the case in their unwillingness to: (1) move away from their family and relatives so they could only see them once a year, (2) live on a tight budget for several years, and (3) go without having their own car for several years. Moreover, on three of the remaining items, their answers are consistently in the direction of the deferred gratification hypothesis--although the results here are not so striking.

The fact that the items for the deferred gratification check lists were chosen so as to minimize the possible confounding effect of a long-term time perspective suggests that the job corps trainees are doubly handicapped in their orientation to work. They are hampered, in part, by an inability to take a long-term view of the future which would make effective planning possible and, in part, by being unprepared to sacrifice short-term rewards in order to get the education that would prepare them for the world of work. This conclusion does not necessarily imply that gratification deferral and a future time perspective are analytically unrelated. Perhaps if the trainees were more capable of taking a long-term view of the importance of education in their future, they might then be more ready to sacrifice immediate rewards in order to get the education they need. But our guess is that such deferral would only occur if they perceive both their educational and occupational objectives as being feasible--and, thus, of having some hope of gaining future rewards to compensate for the more immediate rewards they would be sacrificing.

Comparability of Interview and Questionnaire Data

With the heavy reliance being placed on self-reported information, it was important for planning future research operations to determine whether questionnaires are as effective as the more costly procedure of face-to-face interviews for collecting data on occupational choice and its related factors.

Our experiences during the initial pre-tests at Tongue Point readily confirmed our suspicion that questionnaires have little utility for research with socially underprivileged youth who have not had the benefits of much formal education. The limited verbal and reading skills possessed by the trainees simply ruled out any possibility of using questionnaires with this group--and, by implication, with other groups similarly lacking in educational advantages.

In light of these results, attention was directed to the issue of the comparability of interview and questionnaire data. What would be the effect of interviewing those youth who lack the educational background to fill out self-administered schedules, but giving mass-administered questionnaires to the remainder? Such a step would permit considerable research economies, but to do so would only make sense if the shift to a different procedure for data collection did not affect the content or quality of the information in any major way.

Examination of the available literature revealed surprisingly little hard data on the comparability of interview and questionnaire results, and what findings were available tended to be varied, inconclusive, and often contradictory. (34) To fill this gap in our knowledge, a special pre-study was made of the relative efficacy of interviews and questionnaires for collecting data on occupational choice. For this pre-study, two separate random samples of freshmen at the University of Oregon were taken, using identical sampling procedures. One sample was interviewed by experienced interviewers from the Center for Research in Occupational Planning; the other was given a mass-administered questionnaire that paralleled the interview schedule in form and content. Therefore, except for the variation in technique of data collection, there were no differences between the two groups in selection or treatment. The comparability of the procedures, plus the fact that all the questions used had been carefully and extensively pre-tested, fully led us to expect only negligible differences in the results obtained.

Procedural Effects. Selected findings on variables relevant to the larger research objectives are presented in Tables 12, 13, and 14. Even a casual examination of these results dispels the faith we had in the comparability of interview and questionnaire data. In general, the findings show:

1. The two procedures yield consistently different results, differences which are so substantial that, if we did not know otherwise, we would be tempted to conclude that two different populations of college students had been studied.

2. In 15 of the comparisons reported, there is greater variation within the Oregon samples as a result of the differences in technique used than there is between Oregon and Tongue Point. In other words, the method of data collection has as much, or greater impact, than extreme differences in social background on the results which are obtained.

3. The differences that result do make a difference. Almost without exception, every conclusion previously reported about similarities and differences between trainees at Tongue Point and freshmen at the University of Oregon would have been negated or reversed if mass-administered questionnaires rather than interviews had been used for collecting comparative data from the Oregon students.

These are very sobering findings not only in terms of their implications for the present research but also for their implications about social science research in general. Quite clearly, in evaluating the rather diffuse literature on occupational choice one must pay attention not only to what was asked and the way the question was formulated, but also to the method by which the data were collected.

Sources of Variability. Preliminary analysis of the sources of variability in interview and questionnaire data suggests that there are three factors which, separately or in combination, may help account for the differences obtained. These are:

1. the effect of having the interviewer serve as an intermediary in the data collection process,

2. the lesser degree of motivation of respondents to fill out

a questionnaire than to be interviewed, and

3. the stimulus effect of the interviewer.

The part that each of these factors plays is discussed below.

One obvious difference between the interview and the questionnaire is the presence in the interview of a trained and experienced person to ask questions and record information. The presence of the interviewer is particularly important with open-ended questions, since it is usually his task to screen the answers to insure both that the information is sufficiently detailed to permit effective coding and that the information is complete. By this on-the-spot editing of the respondents' answers, the interviewer provides not just "better" information but also more codable information.

It is the absence of such a built-in screening process that may well contribute to the consistent pattern of "underreporting" observed in Table 12 for questionnaire data on the Morphology of Occupational Choice. As an example, take the student who indicates that the reason he considers college teaching to be a good job is that "It is rewarding for me." While he may consider this an adequate answer, it provides little information for coding unless--as was true in the present case--the interviewer probes to find out that the respondent's reason for considering this a rewarding occupation is "because you are able to pursue your intellectual and cultural interests." And even with this added detail, the answer is not necessarily complete. In the present case, an additional probe resulted in "the security it offers" being mentioned as a further reason.

A second factor that may contribute to the underreporting on the questionnaire is that persons apparently are less motivated to take a questionnaire than to be interviewed. At least, the possibility of this is suggested by data about the willingness of the sample subjects to take part in the present pre-study. Despite the fact that students being interviewed had to walk six or seven blocks across campus while questionnaires were administered in a building only a block or so from the dormitories where the students lived, students being given questionnaires were more reluctant to participate in the research. Forty per cent of those in the questionnaire sample, as compared to 17 per cent of the interview sample, were "late respondents" (i.e., they had not participated in the research at the end of the week the study was scheduled). Similarly, 21 per cent of the questionnaire sample, as compared to 9 per cent of the interview sample, ended up as non-respondents. (See Table 15.) If, as these findings suggest, persons are more reluctant to take questionnaires than interviews, it also seems possible that those who do come in and take questionnaires may be less motivated to provide as detailed and complete answers as persons being interviewed.

So far our concern has been with the underreporting in answers to open-ended questions. A similar pattern of underreporting can also be observed for answers to forced-choice questions, especially where the content touches upon dominant middle-class values. A case in point is the answers to the two check lists on deferred gratification, where a positive answer is in keeping with the middle-class value that youth should be willing to sacrifice immediate pleasures in order to be able to gain future educational and occupational goals. On 10 of the 12 items comprising these check lists, interviewees are more likely than questionnaire-takers to indicate their readiness to forego the reward in question. On the remaining two items, there are no differences between the two samples, so that in neither case is there a reversal of the trend. This consistent tendency of interviewees to report more socially desirable responses suggests that the presence of an interviewer, who listens and reacts to everything the respondent has to say, may have had a systematic effect on the information that is provided. Even without realizing it, the interviewee may feel constrained to give answers that put him in a favorable light. Further support for this interpretation can be found in answers made by the interviewees to other questions in the research which frequently--but not invariably--are in the direction of socially accepted values.

In summary, it is possible to account for the difference between the interview and questionnaire data, but the explanations presented do not provide a basis for favoring one procedure over the other. Both have special limitations that qualify their use. In cases like that of the Tongue Point study, however, where one of the groups to be compared must be interviewed, it is important that the other be interviewed also. We cannot substitute the questionnaire technique.

Discussion

The present pre-study was undertaken as a first step in developing an operationally definable set of procedures for inventorying the criteria youth use in reaching occupational decisions. Since the chief concern was with the structure of what is chosen (or rejected), this scheme has been designated the Morphology of Occupational Choice. One major asset of this approach is the simplicity of the procedures used for eliciting MOC data. This, as we have shown, gives it a wide range of empirical applicability. A second major asset of the morphology is that it takes into account two sets of considerations that are often overlooked in research on occupational choice; namely, (1) that factors other than the intrinsic characteristics of the job play an important part in governing decisions youth make about work and (2) that much which is relevant to occupational decisions occurs through a process of exclusion rather than through a process of choice.

It is these twin features of the morphology--its empirical and analytical scope--that give it a distinct advantage over other procedures available for studying factors that enter into the occupational decision process. This can be easily illustrated by Rosenberg's check list of occupational values (45, 46), which has proven extremely effective for discerning behaviorally relevant differences among college students in their orientation to the world of work (13, 21, 46) and which appeared at first to provide just the kind of information needed for the morphology. However, it soon became evident from the prestudy data that the language used for phrasing the value items in the check list often was beyond the comprehension of persons who lack the educational advantages and the cognitive abilities of college undergraduates. In addition, it was evident that the scope of the check list was too narrow. The original 10 value items needed to be expanded if they were to encompass the full range of decision-making criteria employed by youth in our society for making occupational choices. While it would be a relatively simple matter to expand the check list so that it covered a broader scheme of values, this still would not alleviate a third problem; namely, that the value categories would only be relevant for studying criteria used in making occupational choices. They would not afford comparable information on the exclusion process. It is for these reasons that we finally found it necessary to abandon Rosenberg's approach to studying occupational values and to substitute instead the present system of collecting and analyzing morphological data.

While the limited tests made with the morphology have demonstrated its predictive utility, there still are a number of changes which might be made to improve its effectiveness. One is to include in the questions eliciting information on positive choices a probe as to which of the criteria cited is the most important, if more than one criterion is mentioned. At present, it has been necessary to equate frequency of citation with perceived importance. While the two may in fact be correlated, it would seem desirable to assess them separately. A second change that might be introduced would be to include a direct assessment of the criteria relevant for choosing "an ideal job" as well as a direct assessment of the criteria for choosing the job one actually plans to enter. The latter change would be consistent with the practice now commonly found in stratification research of studying "levels of aspiration" as well as "levels of expectation." (42) Moreover, by comparing the two sets of responses to determine what criteria are omitted when answers shift from the ideal to the real, we might be in a position to judge the kinds of compromise youth from different backgrounds are willing to make in reaching occupational decisions.

There are also several changes that could be introduced to improve the processing and analysis of the MOC data. One would be to combine the data for positive and negative choice so as to be able to calculate the total number of elements of choice individuals--or categories of individuals--take into account when thinking about their work future. In this way, it would be possible to ascertain whether there is a patterned effect by age, sex, or social background on the number of MOC elements that are considered by youth. A second modification is one that has already been suggested. This is to break down the general MOC category of assessment of the opportunity structure into its component parts. This would make it possible to determine whether the assessment which is made focuses on the opportunity for advancement or the opportunity for entry. The failure to do so in the present analysis may have concealed some effects of class background that are significant for interpreting differences among youth in their orientation to work.

A word is also in order about the special emphasis which has been placed on the Morphology of Occupational Choice. While it reflects the focus of the present pre-study, it should not be taken to mean that we do not consider other facets of the decision process relevant. There are, we realize, many other dimensions of orientation (such as temporal perspective and realism) that have bearing on the plans youth make about their occupational future; and these would have to be included in the research design of the final study that is being contemplated. It is also clear that at this point consideration would have to be given to the objects of choice as well as the criteria of choice. Without collateral information on such factors as the status level of the goals chosen, the degree of specificity with which occupational goals are defined, and the stability with which they are held over time, we would have very little basis for drawing conclusions about the way occupational choices are shaped and developed over time. Nevertheless, as we have tried to point out, it is necessary in the analysis of the decision process to distinguish between the criteria of choice and the objects of choice; and in our judgment it is the criteria of choice that provide the basic information needed for understanding the social incentives that govern the occupational decisions which youth make.

Finally, there is need to realize that even if we were in a position to understand how youth develop occupational goals, there still remains the further task of determining the factors which facilitate, impede, or negate the chances these youth may have of implementing their goals. Here, we expect that attention will need to be directed to persons in the social structure who can play an instrumental part in helping youth utilize their personal and social resources so that they can realize their occupational ambitions. (42) To ignore the problem of implementation would not only leave a significant gap in our theoretical knowledge but it would also create a hiatus in whatever applied programs might be developed to help young persons in our society cope with the occupational decisions facing them. From a practical standpoint, there is little advantage to establishing guidance programs to stimulate ambitions to pursue particular work goals unless a collateral effort is made to help insure the possibility that these goals can be realized.

Implications

Whatever implications might be drawn from this section of the final report must of necessity be qualified by the highly tentative nature of the results presented. The pre-studies do not represent a finished research effort, nor was that their intent. They were conducted for the purpose of gaining provisional support for concepts and methods that might be incorporated into a future nationwide study of the occupational decision process that is envisioned.

So long as these qualifications are kept in mind, it is possible to point to several potential implications of the findings detailed above. These are:

1. The Morphology of Occupational Choice provides a useful accounting scheme for facts on occupational choice which has a wide range of empirical applicability. It would appear to be particularly useful for discerning the varied modes of orientation that youth from different socioeconomic backgrounds have to the world of work.

2. The morphological approach that has been adopted would cast doubt on the adequacy of decision-making models of "occupational choice" that are based on the assumption that choices are made among two or more positively valued job alternatives. This assumption, we feel, ignores two relevant empirical aspects of the choice situation; namely, that factors outside the job, itself, are taken into account and that many important decisions which have been made are of a negative rather than a positive nature.

3. By extending the sectors of choice which are of analytical relevance, the morphology provides a basis for systematically accounting for what some investigators have chosen to view as the "accidental" factor in occupational choice. (Cf., 56, pp. 205-207) Instead of being attributed to chance, these "accidental" decisions can be better conceptualized as the product of non-job decisions or of job exclusions--or both.

4. The focus of the morphology on the criteria of choice (or rejection) does not rule out analysis of occupational goals, but it does indicate that a distinction needs to be drawn between the criteria of choice and the objects of choice. The key consideration here is that both sets of factors may vary independently. Even though the criteria of choice may vary, the object of choice may remain constant; and, conversely, the object of choice may vary while the criteria of choice remain constant. For this reason, a properly designed inquiry into the occupational decision process would need to give attention to patterned changes in both the criteria and objects of choice.

Summary

As a first step toward carrying out an eventual research program on planned and unplanned aspects of occupational decisions made by youth in our society, a series of exploratory projects (what we have termed pre-studies) have been undertaken to develop and perfect concepts and methods that were needed for the larger study. In this and three remaining sections of the final report, we have tried to detail the results of these pre-studies.

A major task in the present pre-study was to develop a Morphology of Occupational Choice that would articulate the main sectors in which occupational decisions are made. Working both at the analytical and empirical levels, we have been able to identify four major sectors that serve as social incentives and influence the choices youth make of their future life work. These are: (1) the intrinsic features of the work task, (2) the extrinsic rewards of work (e.g., status and economic benefits), (3) the extra-role considerations that enter into occupational decisions (e.g., wanting to settle in an area near one's family), and (4) the perceived feasibility of the occupational goals. Each of these four sectors can in turn be differentiated into subcomponents, so that in its most elaborate form the morphology comprises 27 elements of choice. Detailed coding procedures for the morphology were developed, with parallel forms constructed for use with choice and exclusion data.

Two separate tests were made of the usefulness of the morphology for classifying the structure of what is chosen (or rejected) in occupational decisions. The first test involved its ability to reveal a systematic difference in the orientation to work of job corpsmen and college freshmen, two groups that have demonstrably different backgrounds, experiences, and outlooks on the future. Results of this test provided general confirmation for the morphology in its present form. In brief, the findings showed:

1. The morphology has a wide range of empirical applicability.

2. It is a useful device for ascertaining class-linked differences among youth in the way they view the world of work and the incentives it has to offer.

3. The differences that are obtained are more readily revealed by what youth say about work goals they reject than by what they say about the work goals they choose.

A second and more sensitive test of the pragmatic validity of the morphology was its ability to discriminate between trainees who drop out of the job corps program soon after entering and those who remain in the program. The morphology data revealed the early drop outs to have a characteristically different orientation to work, one which suggests that their early severance from the program may be traced to an inability to find meaning in work activity. The effectiveness of the morphology in this test situation was interpreted as further evidence of its validity and, thus, of its potential usefulness for research on the occupational decision process.

A significant by-product of the present inquiry was the development of a Social Time Perspective Scale that can be used for assessing the extent to which youth adopt a long-term view of the future. Comparative research on college freshmen and job corps trainees suggest that the time perspective data can provide an important clue to the difficulties lower-class youth encounter in developing effective occupational plans.

A final concern in the present report was with the methodological issue of the comparability of interview and questionnaire data on occupational choice and its related factors. Despite our expectations to the contrary, the findings revealed fundamentally different results are yielded by the two procedures. The differences are of such a magnitude that they rule out the possibility of the procedures being used interchangeably.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PUBLICATIONS AND PAPERS BY STAFF OF CENTER

APPENDIX A

Anderson, Richard Holmes, *Career Orientation and its Correlates Among College Women*, University of Oregon M. A. Thesis, 1967.

_________, and Ellis, Robert A., "Some Overlooked Dimensions in the Analysis of Career Choice Among College Women," paper read at Annual Meeting of Pacific Sociological Association, San Francisco, March 1967.

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Endo, Calvin M., *The Efficacy of Parameter Estimates with Fallible Samples*, University of Oregon M. A. Thesis, 1967.

Finne, Mary Lou, *The Marginal College Student: A Study of Role Failure*, University of Oregon M.A. Thesis in progress.

Goldman, Theodore, *Occupational Development of Adolescence*, University of Oregon doctoral dissertation in progress.

Irle, Roger D. "Religious Groups as Language Communities," paper read at March 1967 meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association.

Jacobsen, Ralph Brooke, *Intrafamily Modes of Socialization: Theoretical Development and Test*, University of Oregon doctoral dissertation, 1968.

_________, *The Psychological Continuum Among Occupational Values: An Attempted Replication*, University of Oregon M.A. Thesis, 1966.

_________, Flygstad, Allan L., and Rodgers, Roy H., *The Family and Occupational Choice: An Annotated Bibliography*, Eugene, Oregon: Center for Research in Occupational Planning, 1966.

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Johnson, Benton (ed.), *Unexplored Aspects of the Development of Occupational Goals of Youth: Summarizers' Reports* of the Conference on Unexplored Aspects of the Development of Occupational Goals of Youth, Eugene, Oregon: Center for Research in Occupational Planning, 1965.

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_________ and Langford, Charles C., "Religion and Occupational Preference: A Study of High School Seniors," paper read at annual meeting of Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Atlanta, Georgia, October 1967.

_________ and White, Richard H., "Protestantism and Political Preference in the Corn Belt: Comment on Anderson's Paper," *Review of Religious Research* (in press).

Johnson, Bryce T., *Sex Differences in College Aspiration*, University of of Oregon M. A. Thesis, 1967.

Lane, W. Clayton, Ellis, Robert A., and Card, Douglas P., *Relative Efficacy of Interviewing and Questionnaire Procedures: An Annotated Bibliography*, Eugene, Oregon: Center for Research in Occupational Planning, 1966.

_________ and Ellis, Robert A., "Social Mobility and Anticipatory Socialization," paper read at annual meeting of Pacific Sociological Association, April 1966.

Langford, Charles C., *Religion and Occupation: A Study of High-School Youth*, University of Oregon doctoral dissertation in progress.

Rodgers, Roy H., "The Occupational Role of the Child; A Research Frontier in the Developmental Conceptual Framework," *Social Forces*, 45 (December, 1966), pp. 217-224. Revised version of a paper presented at the Family Section of the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 1965.

_________ and Jacobsen, R. Brooke, "Family Structure and Occupational Orientation," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association, March 1967.

Appendix A continued.

__________ and Jacobsen, R. Brooke, "Intrafamily Consensus and Effective Socialization," paper presented at Family Section of the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August, 1967.

White, Richard H., "After the Protestant Ethic: Toward A Theory of Religious Influence," paper read at annual meeting of Pacific Sociological Association, March 1967.

APPENDIX B

CODING PROCEDURES FOR MORPHOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

APPENDIX B

GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF CRITERIA

Column	Scale	Classification
1	Cluster A	Does subject mention:

GEOMETRIC CODE

Status	1
Other extrinsic rewards. .	2
Intrinsic features of work task	4
This category not mentioned	0
Not classifiable	X
No answer	Y

ELABORATION OF ITEMS FOR CLUSTER A

Status (1)	Other External Considerations (2)	Intrinsic Features of the Role Task (4)
Status Prestige Get ahead Be successful Better myself **Respectibility** A decent job	**Money** Make good money Become rich Maintain a decent standard of living Earn a livelihood Fringe benefits Schedule of payments **Security** Steady work	**Self Fulfillment** Creativity Expression of talent, ability Challenging work Expression of interest Work with head, hands, tools **Social Fulfillment** Helpful or service to others Work with people Meet interesting people **Power Considerations** Autonomy (e.g., be my own boss) Leadership Responsibility

(continued on next page)

Appendix B continued.

General Classification of Criteria (cont.)

ELABORATION OF ITEMS FOR CLUSTER A, cont.

Status (1)	Other External Considerations (2)	Intrinsic Features of the Role Task (4)
		Stimulation Variety Travel Adventure
		Work Conditions Desirable conditions Good hours Safety Ease of work Duration of job task (e.g., no forced retirement)

Column	Scale	Classification		
2	Cluster B	Does subject mention:		
		Extra-role incentives	1	GEOMETRIC CODE
		Self Appraisal	2	
		Feasibility.	4	
		This category not mentioned. .	0	
		Not classifiable	X	
		No answer	y	

ELABORATION OF ITEMS FOR CLUSTER B

Extra-Role Incentives (1)	Self Appraisal (2)	Feasibility (4)
Institutional Locus Indoor, outdoor work In large corporation	**Self Appraisal** Possess capacity Possess experience Possess training Possess suitable personality traits, (e.g., "I have the patience which that job requires")	**Assessment of Opportunity Structure** Openness of job market Availability of a sponsor Advancement possibilities Appropriateness of sex, age role
External Considerations Leisure time Time with family Choice of living area Opportunity for travel Benefits for family		

Appendix B. continued.

SPECIFIC MORPHOLOGY CATEGORIES: POSITIVE CHOICE

NOTE: The code for columns 3 through 21 is as follows:

	GEOMETRIC CODE
S mentioned above item as a negative criterion of choice	1
S mentioned above item as a positive criterion of choice	2
S mentioned above item as a consideration but not as a positive or negative criterion of choice	4
S did not mention the above item	0
Not classifiable	X
No answer	y

Column	Scale
3	CREATIVITY COMPLEX
4	EXPRESSION OF INTEREST IN WORK
5	WORK WITH HEAD
6	WORK WITH HANDS OR TOOLS
7	HELPFUL OR SERVICE TO OTHERS
8	WORK WITH PEOPLE
9	MEET "INTERESTING" PEOPLE
10	AUTONOMY
11	LEADERSHIP
12	RESPONSIBILITY NOTE: Responsibility implies a requirement for decision making and for accountability of the consequences of those decisions. For example, where the subject says that he doesn't want to be a foreman, it is not so much that he doesn't want control over others as that he doesn't want to make (and live with the effects of) decisions. Thus, responsibility is not the same as simply being in charge of others (which would be coded as leadership) nor is responsibility the same as having others dependent upon oneself (which would be coded as "service to others.").
13	VARIETY
14	TRAVEL NOTE: Traveling implies a minimum of inter-city travel.
15	ADVENTURE
16	DESIRABLE WORK CONDITIONS
17	GOOD HOURS

Appendix B continued.

Specific Morphology Categories: Positive Choice (cont.)

Column	Scale
18	SAFETY
19	EASE OF WORK
20	WORK SETTING
21	EXTERNAL CONSIDERATIONS

NOTE: The code for columns 22 through 24 is as follows:

Does the subject mention the above item?

No	0
Yes	9
Not classifiable	X
No answer	y

Column	Scale
22	DURATION OF JOB TASK NOTE: The phrase "duration of job task" has two referents: duration can refer to the fact that a job is seasonal, i.e., recurrent; or it can refer to the length aspect of the job, e.g., "there is no forced retirement."
23	FRINGE BENEFITS
24	SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS

Appendix B, continued.

Specific Morphology Categories, Positive Choice (cont.)

NOTE: The code for columns 25 through 31 are indicated under each scale.

Column	Scale
25	STATUS

Did the subject mention status in the sense of:

High status (e.g., get ahead, be important, be successful)	1
Medium status (e.g., be respectable)	2
Low or minimum status**	3
Status considered but not used as a criterion	4
Status in the negative sense or rejection of status	5
This category not mentioned	0
Not classifiable	X
No answer	y

NOTE: **Use this category reservedly.

Column	Scale
26	ECONOMIC BENEFITS

Did the subject mention economic benefits in the sense of:

High economic benefits (e.g., good money, becoming rich)	1
Medium economic benefits (e.g., a decent income, a moderate wage, pretty good money)	2
Low or minimal level economic benefits (e.g., enough to get by on, earn a livelihood)**	3
Economic benefits considered but not used as a criterion	4
Economic benefits rejected as a criterion	5
This category not mentioned	0
Not classifiable	X
No answer	y

NOTE: **Use this category reservedly.

Appendix B, continued.

Specific Morphology Categories, Positive Choice (cont.)

Column Scale

27 SECURITY

Did the subject mention security in the sense of:

High security or just plain security	1
Medium security.	2
Low or minimum level security**.	3
Security aspects considered but not used as a criterion	4
Security rejected as a criterion	5
This category not mentioned.	0
Not classifiable	X
No answer.	y

NOTE: (1) **Use this category reservedly.

(2) The benchmarks for this code are analogous to those found in columns 25 and 26.

(3) The phrase "there is always a need for a . . ." is coded as implying security (code 1), as well as an Assessment of the Opportunity Structure. If the term "always" (or its equivalent) is omitted from the foregoing phrase, then security is not implied.

28 REALITY TESTING

Did the subject engage in any reality testing in his response about work?

No, S did not exhibit any reality testing. . . .	0
Yes, S considered reality aspects but did not use them as criteria.	5
Yes, S did exhibit reality testing	9
Not classifiable	X
No answer.	y

NOTE: Reality testing in the sense it is being used here consists of statements of self appraisal. Specifically, the S might say that he possesses the capacity, the experience, the training, or suitable personality traits (e.g., patience). He might also indicate that he does not possess any of the foregoing; this still would indicate reality testing in the sense of self appraisal.

Appendix B, continued.

Specific Morphology Categories, Positive Choice (cont.)

Column *Scale*

29 ASSESSMENT OF OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

Did the subject exhibit any attempt to assess the opportunity structure?

No, *S* did not exhibit an attempt to assess the opportunity structure	0
Yes, *S* considered some aspects of the opportunity structure, but did *not* use them as criteria.	5
Yes, *S* did exhibit an attempt to assess the opportunity structure	9
Not classifiable	X
No answer.	y

NOTE: (1) Assessment of the opportunity structure in the sense it is being used here consists of statements about the probability of attaining his work objectives. For example, the *S* might refer to the "openness" of the job market, the availability of a sponsor (e.g., my dad is in this business), the possibilities for advancement, or the appropriateness of the sex or age role for him. Assessment of the opportunity structure can also be negatively phrased (e.g., the job is only open to people who are older than I).

(2) The phrases "there is a need for . . ." or "there is always a need for . . ." are coded as attempts to assess the opportunity structure.

30 UNCERTAINTY

In response to the question, "do you know what kind of work you want when you start working?" the subject answered:

No	0
Not sure	5
Yes.	9
Not classifiable	X
No answer.	y

Appendix B, continued.

Specific Morphology Categories, Positive Choice (cont.)

Column	Scale
31	EQUIVALENCE

With response to work, the subject used . . .

Equivalence response at least once	1
Equivalence response more than once	2
Equivalence response predominantly	3
This question not asked	9
This category not used	0
Not classifiable	X
No answer	y

Appendix B, continued.

SPECIFIC MORPHOLOGY CATEGORIES: NEGATIVE CHOICE

NOTE: Negative Choice columns 32 through 44 are GEOMETRIC CODES. Each set of geometric codes below includes the following standard categories:

This category not mentioned	0
Not classifiable	X
No answer	y

Column **Scale**

32 CREATIVITY COMPLEX

Does the subject mention any of the following aspects of creativity in connection with work?

Creativity	1
Expression of talent and/or ability	2
Challenging work	4

33 SELF FULFILLMENT COMPLEX

Does the subject mention any of the following aspects of self fulfillment in connection with work?

Expression of interest (or dis-interest) in work	1
Cognitive aspects of work (e.g., work with head)	2
Manual aspects of work (e.g., work with hands)	4

34 SOCIAL FULFILLMENT

Does the subject mention any of the following aspects of social fulfillment in connection with work?

Being helpful to or serving others*	1
Working with people	2
Meeting interesting people**	4

NOTE: *In the sense it is used here, "serving" does not include service occupations, such as waiter, waitress, etc.

NOTE: **In the sense it is used here, the phrase "interesting people" refers to persons who appeal or are interesting to the respondent.

Appendix B, continued.

Specific Morphology Categories, Negative Choice (cont.)

Column **Scale**

35 POWER CONSIDERATIONS

Does the subject mention any of the following aspects of interpersonal power in connection with work?

Autonomy (e.g., be my own boss) 1
Leadership (e.g., be in charge of others) . 2
Responsibility (e.g., be in a position of trust). 4

36 STIMULATION

Does the subject mention any of the following aspects of stimulation in connection with work?

Variety (or lack thereof). 1
Necessity or opportunity to travel. 2
Adventure (or lack thereof) 4

37 WORK CONDITIONS (A)

Does the subject mention any of the following aspects of working conditions?

Desirable or undesirable working conditions*. 1
Good or poor hours. 2
Safety (or lack thereof). 4

NOTE: *As used above, "desirable or undesirable working conditions" is a generic term covering almost all aspects of the conditions under which work is performed. For example, some *Ss* speak of "dirty work" or "noisy work," etc. Such responses would be coded as "1." Items to be specifically *excluded* from the "1" code are comments about the hours of work, safety, ease of work, the schedule of payments, and duration of the job task. The items so excluded are to be found elsewhere in the coding scales.

Appendix B, continued.

Specific Morphology Categories, Negative Choice (cont.)

Column Scale

38 WORK CONDITIONS (B)

Does the subject mention any of the following aspects of working conditions?

Ease or difficulty of work	1
Favorable or unfavorable duration of job task*	2

NOTE: *Duration of job task, as used here, refers to both the frequency with which one may work (e.g., work is only seasonal) and the duration of work (e.g., no retirement at age 65). Do not code comments such as "there is always a need for a mechanic" under this code.

39 DOES THE SUBJECT MENTION ANY OF THE FOLLOWING REWARDS OF WORK?

Status (e.g., a decent job; a profession, etc.)	1
Economic benefits (e.g., earn a livelihood; fringe benefits, etc.)	2
Security (e.g., steady work)	4
Schedule of payments	9

NOTE: A 1, 2, or 4 response takes precedence over a 9 response.

40 INSTITUTIONAL LOCUS AND EXTERNAL CONSIDERATIONS (A)

Does the subject mention any of the following items in connection with work?

Institutional locus (setting for work)	1
Availability of leisure time	2
Availability of time with family	4

41 EXTERNAL CONSIDERATIONS (B)

Does the subject mention any of the following items in connection with work?

Choice of living area	1
Opportunity for travel	2
Benefits for family	4

Appendix B, continued.

Specific Morphology Categories, Negative Choice (cont.)

Column Scale

42 SELF APPRAISAL

Does the subject mention any of the following aspects of self appraisal in connection with work?

Possession of capacity 1
Possession of experience 2
Possession of training 4
Possession of suitable personality traits. . 9

NOTE: A 1, 2, or 4 response takes precedence over a 9 response.

43 ASSESSMENT OF OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

Does the subject indicate an assessment of the opportunity structure by mentioning any of the following items in connection with work?

Openness of job market*. 1
Availability of a sponsor. 2
Opportunity for advancement**. 4
Appropriateness of age, sex role 9

NOTE: (1) A 1, 2, or 4 response takes precedence over a 9 response.

(2) *Statements such as "there is always a need for a mechanic" are coded as "1."

(3) **Classify the following type of statement under "Advancement" unless social fulfillment is indicated: "make social contacts."

44 EQUIVALENCE

With response to work, the subject used . . .

Equivalence response at least once 1
Equivalence response more than once. 2
Equivalence response predominately 3

NOTE: This is not a GEOMETRIC CODE.

Appendix B, continued.

Specific Morphology Categories, Negative Choice (cont.)

Column	Scale
45	UNCERTAINTY

In response to the question, "do you know what kind of work you want when you start working?" the subject answered:

No	0
Not Sure	5
Yes.	9
Not classifiable	X
No answer.	y

APPENDIX C:

TABLES

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF OREGON MALE FRESHMEN AND TONGUE POINT JOB CORPSMEN

Per Cent Who:	Oregon Freshmen[a] (N=194)	Job Corpsmen (N=120)
Background Characteristics		
Live in the Far West	94	16
Are non-Caucasians	00.5	59
Come from middle and upper-middle-class backgrounds[b]	70	12
Have fathers employed in blue-collar jobs	21	72
Have mothers who are working	47	41
Have at least one parent who has ever been to college	59	11
Have at least one parent who has graduated from high school	89	28
Educational Experiences		
Have never attended high school	00	59
Have graduated from high school	100	01
Have taken an active leadership role in high school extra-curricular life	69	--[c]
Report school personnel or experiences influenced their decision to enter the job corps (or college)	77	20
Report school personnel or experiences influenced their choice of occupational goals	75	31

---

[a] Figures for Oregon freshmen are taken from a 1961 study of a 20 per cent probability sample of matriculating freshmen. (15)

[b] Social class is measured by Ellis's Index of Class Position. (14)

[c] Question was not asked of job corpsmen.

TABLE 2. ORIENTATION OF JOB CORPSMEN AND OREGON FRESHMEN TO FIVE FUTURE LIFE GOALS
(Reported in Percentages)

(N) Job Corpsmen (N) Oregon Freshmen	Going to College (120) (46)	Getting Married (120) (46)	Owning Own Home (120) (46)	Owning A New Car (120) (46)	Getting Job You Want To Do (120) (48)
Has Subject Thought About Decision Area?					
Job Corpsmen					
Yes, seriously	29	46	71	70	78
Yes, not seriously	17	28	20	17	18
Oregon Freshmen					
Yes, seriously	--[a]	35	70	65	57
Yes, not seriously	--	46	15	24	24
How Often Has Subject Thought About Decision Area?[b]					
Job Corpsmen					
Once a month or less	53	34	42	33	07
Two to four times a month	20	28	31	26	25
Twice a week or more	27	38	26	41	68
Oregon Freshmen					
Once a month or less	--[a]	54	54	27	00
Two to four times a month	--	38	46	49	61
Twice a week or more	--	08	00	24	39

(continued on next page)

TABLE 2, contined. Page 2.

(N) Job Corpsmen (N) Oregon Freshmen	Going to College (120) (46)	Getting Married (120) (46)	Owning Own Home (120) (46)	Owning A New Car (120) (46)	Getting Job You Want To Do (120) (48)
Feasibility of Goals[b]					
Job Corpsmen					
Sure thing or excellent chance	05	34	21	20	29
Good chance	16	40	34	36	46
Fair or poor chance	79	26	44	43	24
Oregon Freshmen					
Sure thing or excellent chance	--[a]	57	56	55	38
Good chance	--	38	31	17	53
Fair or poor chance	--	05	13	29	09
Perceived Importance of Attaining Goal[c]					
Job Corpsmen					
Very important	48	41	71	33	96
Very or fairly important	63	76	92	70	99
Oregon Freshmen					
Very important	74	22	41	07	67
Very or fairly important	100	83	85	39	96

[a] Asked only of job corpsmen.

[b] Based on only those subjects who had responded affirmatively to question on whether they had thought about a given decision area. For job corpsmen, the revised N's are: 57, 89, 109, 102, and 113; for Oregon freshmen, revised N's are: 37, 39, 42, and 38.

[c] Subjects were asked how important it is to them to: graduate from college, be married, own your own home, own a new car, and have a steady job.

TABLE 3. OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATION OF OREGON MALE FRESHMEN AND TONGUE POINT JOB CORPSMEN

(Reported in Percentages)

Orientation to Work	Oregon Freshmen (N=48)	Job Corpsmen (N=120)
Does Subject Know What Work He Wants to Do?		
Yes	65	74
Yes, but not sure	25	16
No	10	12
Specificity of Occupational Goals		
Broad area of work	17	02
Specific field of work	35	33
Specialized job	46	58
No job goals or not classifiable	02	07
Level of Aspiration[a]		
Very high	56	02
High	31	04
Medium	04	22
Low	00	65
No job goals or not classifiable	08	07
Feasibility of Occupational Goals		
Sure thing or excellent chance	38	29
Good chance	53	46
Fair or poor chance	09	24
Age Decision Was Made[b]		
$\geq$ 17	45	44
14 - 16	45	46
$\leq$ 13	10	12
Don't know	00	02
Clearly Expects Job Better than Father's	54	79

[a] Level of aspirations were classified by Hollingshead's occupational scale as follows: very high = 1, high = 2, medium = 3 and 4, and low = 5 to 7. (29)

[b] Based on only those respondents who reported having definite occupational goals. The N for Oregon freshmen was 31; for job corpsmen, 88.

TABLE 4. MORPHOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE USED BY OREGON FRESHMEN AND JOB CORPSMEN, ANALYZED BY MOC CATEGORIES
(Reported in Percentages)

MOC Categories	Choice Criteria		Exclusion Criteria	
	Freshmen (N=47)	Trainees (N=113)	Freshmen (N=39)	Trainees (N=87)
Intrinsic Features of Work Task	96[**]	63	90	84
Self fulfillment	77[**]	46	72[**]	48
Social fulfillment	38[**]	12	15[**]	00
Power considerations	13[**]	02	13[*]	05
Stimulation	09	03	26[**]	08
Work conditions	04	10	18[**]	55
Extrinsic Rewards of Work	70	67	26	24
Status	19	13	00[*]	07
Economic benefits	55	49	23	18
Security	26	15	03	00
Extra-Role Considerations	13[**]	03	13[**]	01
Work setting	09[*]	02	08[*]	01
Non-work considerations	04	01	05	00
Feasibility	51	48	59[**]	31
Self appraisal	21	11	54[**]	28
Assessment of opportunity structure	32	40	05	06

[*] Two-tailed chi square test (1 df)--or Fisher's test of exact probability-- shows differences tend toward statistical significance ($P < .10$).

[**] Two-tailed chi square test (1 df)--or Fisher's test of exact probability--shows differences are statistically significant ($P < .05$).

TABLE 5. MORPHOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE USED BY OREGON FRESHMEN AND JOB CORPSMEN, ANALYZED BY MOC ELEMENTS

(Reported in Percentages)

MOC Elements	Choice Criteria		Exclusion Criteria	
	Freshmen (N=47)	Trainees (N=113)	Freshmen (N=39)	Trainees (N=87)
Creativity	15**	04	36**	07
Expression of interest in work	68**	42	36	44
Work with head or ideas	09**	00	26**	03
Work with hands or tools	02	04	13**	02
Service to others	21**	06	05*	00
Work with people	19**	02	10**	00
Meet interesting people	00	04	00	00
Autonomy	11**	01	13**	02
Leadership	02	00	03	00
Responsibility	00	01	00	02
Variety	04*	00	23**	08
Travel	02	02	03	01
Adventure	00	00	00	00
Desirable work conditions	00	03	03**	39

(continued on next page)

TABLE 5, continued. Page 2.

MOC Elements	Choice Criteria Freshmen (N=47)	Choice Criteria Trainees (N=113)	Exclusion Criteria Freshmen (N=39)	Exclusion Criteria Trainees (N=87)
Hours on the job	09**	00	05	05
Safety	00	01	03	10
Ease of work	04	04	08	17
Duration of job task	02	02	00	00
Status	19	13	00**	07
Economic benefits	55	49	23	18
Security	26	15	03	00
Fringe benefits	00	01	--	--
Schedule of payments	00	02	00	01
Work setting	09**	02	08**	01
Non-work considerations	04	01	05*	00
Self appraisal	21	11	54**	28
Assessment of opportunity structure	32	40	05	06

*Two-tailed chi square test (1 df)--or Fisher's test of exact probability--shows differences tend toward statistical significance ($P < .10$).

**Two-tailed chi square test (1 df)--or Fisher's test of exact probability--shows differences are statistically significant ($P < .05$).

TABLE 6. MORPHOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE USED BY JOB CORPSMEN WHO DROP OUT OF THE PROGRAM AND THOSE WHO REMAIN IN THE PROGRAM
(Reported in Percentages)

MOC Categories	Choice Criteria		Exclusion Criteria	
	Drop Outs (N=20)	Survivors (N=93)	Drop Outs (N=13)	Survivors (N=74)
Intrinsic Features of Work Task	45	67	100*	81
Self fulfillment	25*	51	62	45
Social fulfillment	15	11	00	00
Power considerations	05	01	08	04
Stimulation	05	02	15	07
Work conditions	00	12	51*	77
Extrinsic Rewards of Work	55	70	23	24
Status	25	13	08	08
Economic benefits	45	50	15	19
Security	05	17	00	00
Extra-Role Considerations	05	02	00	01
Work setting	05	01	00	01
Non-work considerations	00	01	00	00
Feasibility	40	49	31	31
Self appraisal	10	11	24	29
Assessment of opportunity structure	30	42	08	05

*Two-tailed chi square test (1 df)--or Fisher's test of exact probability--shows differences tend toward statistical significance ($P < .10$).

TABLE 7. COMPARISONS OF SOCIAL TIME PERSPECTIVES OF JOB CORPSMEN AND OREGON STUDENTS

	Oregon Students[a] (N=29)	Job Corpsmen		
		All Trainees (N=118)	Survivors (N=97)	Drop Outs (N=21)
Maximum Reported Event In Life Cycle (Death Included)				
≥ Initial adult phase (A)	100%	92%	94%	90%
≥ Initial adult phase (B)	90	53	57	33
≥ Early adult role	83	48	52	33
≥ Intermediate adult role	59	14	16	05
≥ Late adult role (A)	48	11	12	05
Mean STP score (death included)	6.41	4.27	4.45	3.93
Maximum Reported Event in Life Cycle (Death Excluded)				
≥ Initial adult phase (A)	97%	92%	93%	90%
≥ Initial adult phase (B)	75	49	53	33
≥ Early adult role	69	44	46	33
≥ Intermediate adult role	41	07	07	05
≥ Late adult role (A)	28	03	02	05
Mean STP score (death excluded)	5.28	3.83	3.93	3.38
Scope				
Mean levels of life cycle encompassed	3.62	2.13	2.22	1.71
Extensiveness				
Mean life cycle event	4.52	2.88	3.01	2.29
Mean Number of STP Responses	6.24	3.64	3.80	2.81

[a] Oregon students consist of all males enrolled in an undergraduate sociology course at the University of Oregon.

TABLE 8. REPORTED FREQUENCY WITH WHICH JOB CORPSMEN AND OREGON STUDENTS THINK ABOUT WHAT THEY WILL BE DOING AT FOUR DIFFERENT PERIODS IN THE FUTURE
(Reported in Percentages)

How often in the past year have you thought about what you will be doing when you are . . . ?	Age 20	Age 30	Age 40	Age 50
Job Corpsmen (N=118)				
Frequently	32	23	18	16
Frequently or occasionally	69	53	39	39
Oregon Students[a] (N=29)				
Frequently	65	33	04	04
Frequently or occasionally	84	85	56	34

[a] Oregon students consist of all males enrolled in an undergraduate sociology course at the University of Oregon.

TABLE 9. DEFINITIONS OF MIDDLE AGE AND OLD AGE BY JOB CORPSMEN AND OREGON STUDENTS

Cumulative Per Cent	Job Corpsmen (N=118)	Oregon Students[a] (N=29)
__When__ __Is__ __A__ __Person__ __Middle-Aged?__		
Under 30	24	00
Under 35	49	19
Under 40	73	41
__When__ __Is__ __A__ __Person__ __Old?__		
Under 50	18	00
Under 55	25	07
Under 60	40	30
Under 65	58	52

[a] Oregon students consist of all males in an undergraduate sociology course at the University of Oregon.

TABLE 10. COMPARISON OF WILLINGNESS OF OREGON FRESHMEN AND JOB CORPSMEN TO DEFER GRATIFICATION IN ORDER TO GET A JOB WHERE THEY COULD REALLY MAKE GOOD MONEY

(Reported in Percentages)

Gratification Deferral Items	Oregon Freshmen (N=48)	Job Corpsmen (N=86)
Move to a town or place you don't like		
Definitely yes	04**	23
Definitely or probably yes	42**	65
Put off getting married for several years		
Definitely yes	23	35
Definitely or probably yes	65	69
Take a job you are not sure will last		
Definitely yes	02	08
Definitely or probably yes	52**	27
Move away from your family and relatives so you could only see them once a year		
Definitely yes	40**	23
Definitely or probably yes	81**	60
Live on a tight budget for several years		
Definitely yes	27	21
Definitely or probably yes	81	76
Go without having your own car for several years		
Definitely yes	31	28
Definitely or probably yes	71	70
Put in a 60-hour week		
Definitely yes	38	42
Definitely or probably yes	75	86

[a] The number of job corpsmen included for analysis is reduced by the fact that the gratification deferral questions were asked in the two-month follow-up interview.

**One-tailed chi square test (1 df) shows differences are statistically significant ($P < .05$) in expected direction.

TABLE 11. COMPARISON OF WILLINGNESS OF OREGON FRESHMEN AND JOB CORPSMEN TO DEFER GRATIFICATION IN ORDER TO GET THE EDUCATION THEY WANT

(Reported in Percentages)

Gratification Deferral Items	Oregon Freshmen (N=48)	Job Corpsmen (N=48)[a]
Move to a town or place you don't like		
Definitely yes	19	19
Definitely or probably yes	83**	58
Put off getting married for several years		
Definitely yes	60	52
Definitely or probably yes	100**	88
Take a "flunky" job		
Definitely yes	38	31
Definitely or probably yes	73	67
Move away from your family and relatives so you could only see them once a year		
Definitely yes	54**	29
Definitely or probably yes	90**	69
Live on a tight budget for several years		
Definitely yes	42*	27
Definitely or probably yes	90*	77
Go without having your own car for several years		
Definitely yes	67**	38
Definitely or probably yes	94*	81
Spend six nights a week at home studying		
Definitely yes	23	52
Definitely or probably yes	73	88

[a] The number of job corpsmen included for analysis is reduced by the fact that the gratification deferral questions were asked in the two-month follow-up interview and by the necessity of restricting the analysis to those subjects who indicated a desire to go back to school.

*One-tailed chi square test (1 df) shows differences tend toward statistical significance ($P < .10$) in expected direction.

**One-tailed chi square test (1 df)--or Fisher's test of exact probability --shows differences are statistically significant ($P < .05$) in expected direction.

TABLE 12. EFFECT OF INTERVIEW AND QUESTIONNAIRE ON SELECTED DATA ON MORPHOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE
(Reported in Percentages)

MOC Categories for Choice Criteria	Job Corpsmen (N=113)	Oregon Freshmen		Differences	
		Interviews (N=47)	Questionnaires (N=41)	Corpsmen vs. Freshmen	Interview vs. Questionnaire
Intrinsic features of work task	63	96	73	-33	+23
Extrinsic rewards of work	67	70	54	-03	+16
Extra-role considerations	03	13	05	-10	+08
Feasibility	48	51	29	-03	+22

TABLE 13. EFFECT OF INTERVIEW AND QUESTIONNAIRE ON SELECTED DATA ON ORIENTATION TO FUTURE LIFE GOALS
(Reported in Percentages)

	Job Corpsmen (N=120)	Oregon Freshmen		Differences	
		Interviews (N=48)	Questionnaires (N=41)	Corpsmen vs. Freshmen	Interview vs. Questionnaire
Subject Has Seriously Thought About					
Marriage	46	35	22	+09	+13
Owning own home	71	70	35	+01	+35
Owning a new car	70	65	59	+05	+06
Getting job you want	78	57	51	+21	+06
Does Subject Know What Work He Wants To Do?					
Yes	74	65	51	+09	+14
Specificity of Occupational Goals					
Specialized job	58	46	29	+12	+17
Age Occupational Decision Was Made					
≤ 13	12	10	18	+02	-08
Subject Clearly Expects Job Better Than His Father's	79	54	68	+25	-14

TABLE 14. EFFECT OF INTERVIEW AND QUESTIONNAIRE ON SELECTED DATA ON DEFERRED GRATIFICATION

Per Cent Who Are Willing To:	Job Corpsmen (N=86)[a]	Oregon Freshmen		Differences	
		Interviews (N=48)	Questionnaires (N=37)	Corpsmen vs. Freshmen	Interview vs. Questionnaire
Deferral for Occupational Goals					
Live on a tight budget for several years	76	81	54	-05	+27
Go without having your own car for several years	70	71	43	-01	+28
Put in a 60-hour week	86	75	57	+11	+18
Deferral for Educational Goals					
Put off getting married for several years	88	100	86	-12	+14
Live on a tight budget for several years[b]	27	42	22	-15	+20
Go without having your own car for several years[b]	38	67	35	-29	+32
Spend 6 nights a week at home studying	88	73	54	+15	+19

[a] Number of cases for deferral for education goals = 48.

[b] Percentages computed for respondents who answered "Definitely Yes" to question.

TABLE 15. EFFECT OF INTERVIEWS AND QUESTIONNAIRES ON SUBJECTS' WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

	Oregon Freshmen	
Per Cent Who Are:	Interviews (N=53)	Questionnaires (N=52)
Late respondents[a]	17	40
Non-respondents[b]	09	21

[a] Two-tailed chi square (1 df) = 5.62; $P < .05$.

[b] Two-tailed chi square (1 df) = 1.96; $P > .05$.

PLANNED AND UNPLANNED ASPECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES BY YOUTH: DEVELOPMENT OF AN INSTRUMENT FOR MEASURING OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION

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Martin H. Acker
and
Theodore J. Goldman

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The University of Oregon

Eugene, Oregon

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DEVELOPMENT OF AN INSTRUMENT FOR MEASURING OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION

A Pre-study Conducted through the Center for Research in Occupational Planning

Introduction

The Center for Research in Occupational Planning, under the direction of Dr. Robert Ellis, has undertaken a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of occupational choice of youth. CROP's project entitled: "Planned and Unplanned Aspects of Occupational Choice of Youth," has gathered faculty from the University of Oregon and other distinguished workers in the field to study the choice process through which youth approach the world of work.

The present study is a part of the larger project. Aimed at developing an instrument designed to investigate one determinant of occupational choice, namely the nature of occupational information known to youth, the present study emerged from considerations raised during a conference in which several prominent researchers participated. The conference, held under the auspices of CROP during the summer of 1965, was entitled "Unexplored Aspects of Occupational Choice of Youth."

One of the major questions raised during that conference, later reported in the preliminary summary published by CROP in 1966, was in regard to the need to measure such aspects of occupational choice as "realism," "intensity," and other psychodynamic components of the choice process of the individual. This study is one of the resulting responses to the question of "realism."

The individual's perception of the world of work must be realistic if appropriate occupational choices are to be made. One aspect of the individual's perception of the world of work is the nature of his knowledge of occupational information. Predicated on the major assumption that movement within the world of work is in part determined by the individual's knowledge of that world, the present study seeks to develop an instrument which can measure the individual's occupational information.

The Problem

The present study is an attempt to develop an instrument designed to measure how much youth know about the world of work. The purpose of this task is to provide the field of occupational choice research with a tool which, when fully refined, can provide some measure of occupational information know by individuals.

Support of the major assumption, that occupational choice is in part determined by one's occupational information, comes from the work of Blau and his associates. In his schematic diagram representing a conceptual model of occupational choice, Blau includes the immediate determinant "Occupational Information." (Blau, et al., 1964) In the text explaining their conceptual scheme, they say:

> "...a fifth factor that influences occupational entry is the information people have about an occupation, their knowledge about the requirements for entry, the rewards offered, and the opportunities for employment and advancement..." (ibid. p. 537)

Current research has shown that knowledge of the world of work, even knowledge of the chosen occupation is relatively inadequate for the chooser. Subjects responding to interviews designed to tap aspects of their awareness about the formal behaviors associated with their chosen occupation show little grasp of what will be expected of them. (Super, 1957, Super and Overstreet, 1960, Beardslee and O'Dowd, 1962) Slocum, in his overview of current sociological knowledge regarding occupational choice has observed that:

> "...The evidence indicates that most people make their occupational decisions on the basis of information available to them and that for most people significant knowledge about jobs tends to be situational in character..." (Slocum, 1966, p. 206)

To date few studies exist which have elicited objective data in an effort to systematically measure knowledge of occupational information. The study that appears closest in form and intent to the present study is one as yet unpublished. Discovery of this study took place during negotiations with the Office of Economic Opportunity Research and Evaluation branch as the staff of CROP processed necessary clearance procedures prior to using CROP's proposed instrument. At one phase of the negotiations with OEO, an instrument was mailed to CROP as an example of an attempt at inquiring how much job corps trainees knew about the world of work. This in-house instrument as constructed consisted of two forms. One form elicited a list of job titles from the subjects, and then asked, on a three-point scale the degree of finement of a tool which could be used in research, counseling and guidance, and in educational settings, where the impact of academic exposure to the world of work must be assessed.

The Task

The central task of the pre-study is the development and testing of an instrument designed tommeasure knowledge of occupational information. The problems involved in the development of an instrument are by no means simple, albeit the instrument produced, if it is to be an effective data-producer, must be simple. The first step of the pre-study, following recognition of the larger problem of the need for an instrument to measure knowledge of occupational information, was to define occupational information, determine the components within the definition of occupational information, and to devise a system of measuring behaviors closely associated with those components. Onee the rationale for the instrument is born, operationalization of the conceivable components becomes the second step. Third, the construction of the instrument proper takes place, and fourth, the use of the instrument on a pilot sample follows. Fifth step is the preliminary refinement of the instrument, a selection among alternate formats, and the use of the instrument on larger samples drawn from various populations. This was the course taken by the CROP staff. Following the gathering of data, the protocols had to be translated into data-processable information through a coding operation which reduced content to numerical symbols.[2] Thus the familiarity he felt about each job. The second form provided a list of job titles, again asking the subject to indicate, on a three-point scale, the degree of familiarity he felt about each job.

Other studies, mainly performed by Tyler, involve the subject in listing occupations, later to group the occupations listed according to the subject's manner of selecting personal possibilities (i.e. possible future occupational goals, unlikely personal occupational goals) among them. Choice patterns reveal to Tyler and those who study occupational choice by this technique many facets of personality, as well as differentiating factors among groups of subjects. Her most recent study is that done with Sundberg, published in 1964, entitled: *Factors Affecting Career Choices of Adolescents*. Tyler's findings reveal cultural differences between Dutch and American children, as well as sex differences in the nature of the pattern of choices demonstrated in her cross-cultural study. Following a situational-clinical approach to people, Holland developed a system of classifying individuals and situations in terms of hierarchies of behavior orientation, the modal orientation determining the major direction of vocational choice. Yet no study is known to the authors which objectively studies knowledge of occupations as reflected in knowledge of occupational information.

The present study, drawing much from the work of Tyler, must then be considered a tentative first step to develop an instrument designed to measure knowledge of occupational information. It is intended that the development of the instrument, and the resulting use of the data gathered in the pre-study, will eventuate the re-structure of these later steps also entered into the considerations of instrument design and data analysis. As will be seen in later sections of this report, a study of this magnitude involves more than a study of test results. The facilities required to study the results obtained from the nearly 800 protocols are considerable, and only a small beginning has been made towards a full appreciation of the data generated by the instrument.

Definition

When one asks "How much do people know about work?" the answer, beyond the first shrug, necessarily involves a subjective relativism which defies measurement. Scaling responses to this question has been done by Super in his study of ninth grade boys. Employing an evaluative system developed by a graduate student (Nolte) in an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Super studied the responses to interview data, weighing the nature of the content on a three point scale. Yet Super, interested in the assessment of vocational maturity, particularly as he scores subjects for information held about the *chosen* occupation, would agree that applying this method of evaluation to a person's general knowledge of occupational information would be both impractical and possibly non-contributory to a normative study.

Certainly Tyler presents the most straight-forward approach in her *Perceptions of Possibilities* orientation to the investigation of the choice process. She asks her subjects to list, over a certain period of time, all the occupational titles which come to mind. Later she uses these very occupational titles as items involved in the process of selection of possibilities (and impossibilities) as she studies choice patterns. One certain component of occupational information, the occupational titles in the world of work, appears to be the most obvious core of a definition.

Harking the findings of Super (1957, 1960) and Beardslee and O'Dowd (1962,) regarding the lack of awareness of formal occupational behaviors known even of the chosen occupation, a second component of occupational information, occupational behaviors, also appears central to a definition of occupational information. It appeared that this component could be examined simply, also by asking for a list.

Thus two obvious elements of occupational information, the knowledge of job titles, and the knowledge of job activities, appear to form the nucleus of a simple definition. A third factor, highly related to the intelligence and experience of the individual, his awareness of the relevance of occupational behavior to specific occupations, as could be indicated by his assignation of job activities to titles of jobs, emerged as something also amenable to assessment.

Operationalization of the nuclear definition was achieved, yielding the following statements:

1. Occupational information consists in part of the number of occupational titles known to the individual.

2. Occupational information consists in part of the number of occupational activities known to the individual.

3. Occupational information consists of awareness of relevant vocational activities which apply to known occupations.

Development of the Instrument

Consonant with the operational definitions, an instrument was constructed with alternate formats (three in number) which manipulated the order of presentation of the following tasks:

1. A five-minute[3] listing of job titles.
2. A five-minute listing of job activities.
3. A twenty-minute opportunity to match relevant job activities produced in the second task to the pertinent job titles produced in the first task.

Tentatively entitled: "Occupational Information Survey" (OIS,) the instrument was pilot-tested with two samples of subjects. One sample consisted of graduate students in a research seminar, the other sample consisted of male Job Corps trainees. A preliminary check of the productivity levels of the two samples revealed insignificant differences in productivity in the first two tasks, but the Job Corps trainees matched significantly less activities to the job titles they had produced.

The results of the pre-testing of the instrument indicated that the instrument elicited what was intended, and seemed to discriminate the two samples on the salient task (matching volume). The instrument in the form shown in the appendix was then used on the larger samples as follows:

1. Secondary school students, grades seven-twelve.
2. Upward Bound students, University of Oregon.
3. Job Corps trainees, rural and urban center enrollees.

Administration of the Occupational Information Survey

The samples were drawn from the three populations listed above. In the case of the secondary school students, a stratified random sample was selected from school building rosters whose principals permitted our participation during the last few days of the academic year 1965-1966. In the case of the Upward Bound students, an entire entering group was available for participation, the OIS being included in the battery of preliminary educational evaluation instruments. The Job Corps trainees were selected from those who were considered by the staff to be literate to a degree sufficient for at least minimal response on the instrument as written. As for representativeness of the populations, the authors must beg some indulgence, due to administrative technicalities which precluded the strictest standards of random selection. In all cases, the OIS was administered personally by the same person to the entire main samples.

The Data

Quantitative data available from the protocol of the OIS consist of the following:

1. Total number of job titles produced within a five-minute period.
2. Total number of job activities produced within a five-minute period.
3. Total number of job titles to which one or more job activities are assigned.

4. Total number of job activities assigned to any single job title (maximum matching).

Other aspects of quantitative data are available from the protocol of the OIS, such as the following:

5. Total number of occupational titles to which no matching of activities was done.

6. Total number of job activities which were used at least once in matching task.

7. Total number of unassigned job activities.

8. Total number of job titles receiving minimal assignments of job activities.

9. Total number (approximate) of spontaneously recalled job activities, prior to subject's obvious reference (visually) to the list of job titles just produced. This variable can be studied by establishing the phase-sequence relationships between the first and second task lists.

Qualitative data available from the protocol of the OIS consist of the following:[4]

1. Distribution of the job titles among the seven level classification of Hollingshead's Index of Social Position (ISP).

2. Distribution of job titles among classifications along other dimensions such as developmental aspects of occupational terminology, and so forth.

3. Distribution of the various content-analysis codings of the job activities.

4. Distribution of content characteristics of the job activities assigned to job titles.

5. Case study of the matching task re: volume of assignations to job titles pertaining to stated occupational goal, occupation of parents.

6. Case study of the validity of the matches of activities to jobs re: accuracy and depth of matching, insight to formal vocational behaviors.

7. Study of relationship between performance character-

istics of subjects and intelligence and achievement (academic, training, etc.) factors.

8. Longitudinal study of performance on the OIS and occupational behaviors.

Results

Preliminary coding of the data now consists of eight decks of IBM punch cards. A summary of the coding thus far consists of the following information:

1. Number of job titles produced.
2. Number of job activities produced.
3. Number of jobs receiving matching of activities.
4. Number representing highest number of activities assigned to any single job title.

The above variables, designated as "titles," "activities," "jobs matched," and "maximum matching," are now in print-out form. Means, medians, and standard deviations are known of the secondary school sample. Numerous tables and graphs were produced representing performance levels of these four variables according to the major demographic groupings of sex, age, grade level, and district.

Also available on punch cards are the following data, as yet unprocessed:

5. Number of job titles falling into ISP and non-ISP classifications.
6. Content-analysis codings of the job activities.
7. Number of assignations of activities for each job title in order of appearance (corrected for subject errors such as accidental slip during indexing in the matching task).

Further coding intended for the continued study of the data consists of the following:

8. Production of IBM punch card decks re: academic achievement and intelligence of secondary school subjects (to date, 90% of this data has already been gathered from the participating schools).

9. Detailed translation of matching performance by transcribing entire matching page to allow machine processing of case study material as indicated in item 4 of the qualitative data subsection.

10. Compilation of a library of occupational titles produced by various sample strata, initially to be accomplished for the secondary school students as a study of developmental levels of awareness of job titles.

11. Other codings re: different aspects of case study and sample study, such as detailed analysis of face data containing both demographic and subjective content.

Preliminary Findings

Prior to the report of the major findings of the analysis of the OIS protocols, the consideration of validity of the results must be voiced. One approach to the study of validity, that done in the present study, is the numerical count of content which could not be classified as either a job title or classified within the coding system of the job activity content analysis "x-x-x" class.

Approximately one-fourth of the sample was scanned for unclassifiable response codings. It was found that less than one-tenth of one percent of the total volume of job titles produced could not be read, or included the terms: housewife, retired, deceased, and the like. Thus this aspect of face validity seemed confirmed. In a similar scanning of the coding of the job activities, the same low incidence of unclassifiable responses were observed.

Data Analysis

Means of the following variables were plotted according to the sample breakdown of the secondary school students by age and sex:[5]

1. Number of job titles produced in five minutes.
2. Number of job activities produced in five minutes.
3. Number of jobs to which activities were assigned in a twenty-minute period.
4. Maximum number of job activities assigned to a single job title.

Titles (See Graph 1)

a) Both boys and girls of age 12 appear to produce the same mean volume of job titles.
b) Productivity between the ages of 13 and 19, however, is less for boys than it is for girls. Girls produce an average of four more job titles than do boys of the same age.
c) The rate of increase in productivity with increasing age appears to be steady for girls over the age range of 12 to 16. A less steady rate of increase in productivity is seen for boys, starting one year later for boys (age 13) reaching a measured peak at age 17 of a mean of 28 job titles produced.
d) A drop in productivity is observed in the girls' performance at age 17, this pause a provocative interruption in the observed steady increase in productivity. Whereas the girls showed an average increase of two items per year, this temporary reduction at age 17 is curious.
e) There is a similarity, possibly more marked at the transition between ages 17 and 18, between the behavior of the means at this juncture and the transition ages of 12 to 13. Most notable is the reduction in productivity for boys, and the increase in productivity for girls.

Activities (See Graph 2)

a) At the age of twelve, the boys are seen slightly more productive of job activity items than are the girls.
b) A slightly greater lag is seen between the ages of boys and girls producing the same volume of job activities (2½ years).
c) The rate of increase in productivity of job activities appears less steady for girls between the ages of 12 and 16, and markedly steadier for boys between the ages of 13 to 17.
d) Productivity at the transition between the ages of 17 and 18 shows a marked similarity to the drop observed between the ages of 12 and 13 for boys. The same observation can be made regarding the abrupt pause in the increase of productivity which recovers at an indicated rate of three to four items increase between the ages of 12 and 14 for girls.

Jobs Matched (See Graph 3)

a) Starting at the same performance level at age 12, boys and girls again differentiate themselves by a lag of approximately two years in volume of productivity.
b) There is a peak of matching to the most number of jobs at the age of 15 for girls, and 17 for boys.
c) The 17 year level is the site for a slightly observable overlap of the curves for boys and girls, girls showing slightly less jobs to which they assigned activities than the number of jobs to which boys assigned activities.

Maximum Matching (See Graph 4)

a) Starting at age 12, boys and girls assigned the same mean number of job activities to the job which received the most assignations.
b) At age 13, however, the maximum number of assignations to a job dropped for the boys, increased for the girls, such that girls almost doubled their use of activities in applying them to a job, whereas boys halved their use of activities in assigning them to a job title.
c) Whereas the rate of increase in maximum assignations is steady for boys from the ages of 13 to 16, maximum assignations to a job reaches an early peak for girls at age 13, pausing at an intermediate low at age 15, where the boys show a slightly higher maximum assignation rate than the girls.

d) A return to the original rate of increase shown between the ages of 12 and 13 for girls is observed following the drop from 13 to 15.
e) An intermediate peak of assignations is observed for boys at age 16, and a steady drop in rate of maximum assignation of activities to a job is seen between the ages of 16 and 18.

A study of the above results yields the following considerations.

1. Factors related to the structure of the OIS must be considered in the analysis of the data. Among the many inherent in the structure of the instrument are the intra-test functions and the extra-test functions. The intra-test functions involve the sequence of the tasks, the cue properties of the instrument, the element of a time limit imposition, and the clarity of the instructions. Other properties of the instrument connected with format, quality and quantity of face data, point at which face data was elicited during administration, and technical variations in the administration must be kept in mind in the study of the data.

A comparison of the relative drop in means for tasks following the first task involves a mojor intra-test factor. It was observed that the subjects quickly "ran out of gas" quite early in the production of job activities. They were seen to look back at their list of job titles, use it as a cue for writing additional activities, to look back again for more cues, and so forth, until the time period was up. This behavior, although personally considered undesirable by the "purist" graduate student, was tolerated and not discouraged during administration.

A result of the above behavior alerts the authors to another fact: both content and quantitative limitations are evident in a non-exhaustive study of how many job titles are actually known. Thus it must also be kept in mind that the test taps immediate awareness of jobs, rather than the larger range of awareness of occupational pursuits available to the individual, were he allowed to pause (as stated in the draft directions) and perhaps take an opportunity to reflect on the task.

A second result of the above leads to an interpretation of the observation regarding the subsequent task's generally lower mean value across the ages assessed. It becomes obvious to the authors that, since the subjects were for the most part "anchored" to the job titles they had named, as well as having been told that they were to become involved in a matching task at the outset, subjects, especially in the school setting (and most likely elsewhere) would seek to provide themselves with "appropriate substance" for their purposed task: matching activities to jobs.

2. Extra-test factors, such as fatigue, response-set behaviors, lack of exposure, and in the case of specialized populations, intellectual-motivational factors, should be taken into account, although within the bounds of the present study, little can be stated regarding correlations of these factors with performance.[6]

3. A tentative finding suggested by the above preliminary analyses based on known developmental evidence is that the data thus far studied indicates a developmental trend to productivity levels, showing a sex difference widely recognized.[7]

4. A second tentative finding suggested by the data, regarding the possible reduction of productivity levels at the 16-17 year range, along with other peculiarities of the interplay of task performance levels, is perhaps linked with vocational-developmental phase-specific behaviors, possibly linked with the transition from fantasy-to-tentative choice behaviors.[8]

5. A third tentative finding suggested by the data, observed by the authors without much theoretical support, is the shifting of peak productivity levels from task to task (in sequence) to younger ages for girls. For instance, the peak productivity for number of jobs named is at age 16, as well as the peak productivity for number of job activities. The peak productivity for jobs matched lowers to fifteen, and continues to lower to age thirteen for peak (intermediate) in the maximum matching task.[9]

6. An additional tentative finding suggested by the data comes from observing the curves produced by the particular cross-sectional breakdown of age x sex. Rate of increase in productivity is observed to be similar for boys and girls, although a year or two apart at their point of immersion into the adolescent period. Reversal of trends observed for the sexes at the age 16-17 are provocative. Certainly the interplay of the quantitative performance among tasks, levels of which are observed to shift with the age and sex of the subjects tested in this pre-study, beg closer scrutiny.

Implications

A study of the information elicited by the instrument developed for the study of knowledge of occupational information has led to preliminary statements about differences in productivity-qua-informational levels assessed in subjects at the secondary school level. The idiographic nature of the data, along with the observed productivity data whose numberical-quantitative statements are at least suggestive, needs be studied.[10] The fact of inter-item associations involved in the production of terms associated with work also lends itself to projective analysis, much along the lines indicated by Tyler and others.[11]

Finally, with due regard for the limitations of such studies which represent comparatively isolated beginnings to a study of knowledge held by people, the authors hold that the instrument developed to assess knowledge of occupational information, with some additional refinements, could well be useful in the investigation of one of the determinants of occupational choice.

Summary and Conclusions

Under the auspices of the Center for Research in Occupational Planning, the present pre-study was performed to develop an instrument designed to assess the individual's knowledge of occupational information. A set of operational definitions, analyzing the components of occupational information was determined, following from the content-centered works of Tyler and Super.

Entitled: "Occupational Information Survey" and subjected to minimal pilot testing, the instrument was administered to three populations of youth: secondary school students, Job Corps trainees (both rural and urban centers). and Upward Bound students. Approximate total sample number is 800, half of which are secondary school subjects.

The Occupational Information Survey consists of three tasks:

1. A five-minute listing of job titles.
2. A five-minute listing of job activities.
3. A twenty-minute opportunity to match relevant job activities produced in the second task to the pertinent job titles produced in the first task.

The data produced by coding of the protocols of the Occupational Information Survey has first been examined in terms of productivity, and analyzed along the sample breakdown (secondary school students) of age and sex. Study of the results thus far has yielded implications supporting developmental theory, as well as suggested the need for further study of the data on both a quantitative and qualitative basis.

FOOTNOTES

1. Summarizers' reports, entitled: "The Conference on Unexplored Aspects of Occupational Choice of Youth" sponsored by CROP August 9 - 13, 1965, University of Oregon. See topics IV and V.

2. Coding rationale was the product of considerations of current socio-psychological dimensions of the individual's perception of the world of work. The concept of work, as opposed to the concept of leisure, connotes to the individual specific relationships within which his self-image is in part an included element. The social position of various occupations, the relationship to specific occupational behaviors determined by the individual's perception of the job, and also of his manner of self-inclusion (or exclusion) enter into the nature of the content produced in the second task.

3. The time limits imposed for the production of responses was determined through two considerations, one theoretical, and one concrete. The theoretical basis for the timed aspect stems from the traditional use of time to measure rate of performance, i.e., intellectual power, and so forth. The concrete setting of the five-minute period for the first two tasks evolved from the pilot-testing of the graduate students, who were observed by the tester to apparently exhaust themselves of job titles within that amount of time. The same is true of the setting of the twenty-minute period for the matching task. (The authors are grateful

to John Cover for his help in this phase of the development of the OIS.)

4. The coding of the qualitative aspects of the data has been done according to determined evaluations of the content of the items. An abbreviated version of the coding system used in the pre-study is included in the appendix.

5. The results reported in the pre-study are a small part of the bulk of data already analyzed Sample breakdowns along finer subgroupings are suggestive of further differences among subjects when studied on the four task performances presently reported.

6. Follow-up data has been gathered for the secondary school subjects. This consists of available intelligence and achievement levels in school records. (The authors are grateful for the cooperation of the school authorities responsible for facilitating the data-gathering for this pre-study.)

7. Commonly stated in the literature is the observation regarding differences in developmental patterns among boys and girls. Typical of these comments is the following from an article on career development of girls:

> "On the other hand, girls' fantasy choices at early puberty must be studied from a different frame of reference because girls' maturational rates have placed them at a life developmental stage that boys will reach about two years later." (Matthews, 1963, p. 274)

8. The nature of the data elicited seems well-suited to phase-specific studies of stages of occupational choice behavior.

It is evident that qualitative differences in content ought to exist between younger and older subjects.

9. A study of the data from this standpoint will be part of an ongoing project proposal which is intended to involve the product of future seminars in the fields of occupational choice research, psychological measurement, and research methodology.

10. One indication regarding the holism approach to the protocol is that, according to Tyler, cultural differences can be observed which penetrate beyond the realm of objective measurement.

11. One study, using the list of job titles produced by the secondary school sample, is an in-process doctoral dissertation. The thesis intends to assess the hypotheses regarding the shift in order of presentation of the subject's stated occupational goal (as stated on the face data sheet) with increasing age of the subject. Preliminary examination of the data appears to lend support to the increase with age of the salience of one's occupational goal as stated.

APPENDIX:

1. Occupational Information Survey
2. Job Activities Content Analysis
3. Tables and Graphs

Deck No. 05

Column Number ______

Activity Content Code:

This is a three column code. Each activity is coded by a content analysis technique described by the following:

The first column is called the "Duties" Column. Coded first, this is a judgement as to the following aspects generally considered related duties and their relevance to working AS A FUNCTION.

FIRST

Duties Category:

Non-Specific and Irrelevant (Gawk)	0
Object Relationship (Pound Nails)	1
Public Practice (Defend Criminals)	2
Private Practice (Counsel People)	3
Teaching (Instruct)	4
White Collar Non-Professional (Sell)	5
Blue Collar Non-Object ("Binging")	6
Public Ancillary Service (Guard People)	7
Private Ancillary Service (Nurse People)	8
Non-Specific General (Work)	9
Not Classifiable	X

The second column, called the PAR column, coded second, is a combined interpretation of Proximity to the person, OR the Affect expressed by the word or words used, OR the ERROR of naming a term normally associated with a JOB TITLE.

The Third Column, called the REFERENCE column, coded last, is a judgement as to the degree of reference the word or words have to a worker, or person associated with the activity.

As each activity is coded, coders are to keep a separate record of the word, and the manner in which it was coded. Periodically, these lists will be compiled into a "handbook" for future coding practice.

Occupational Information Survey

Statement for rationale of code: Content analysis of activities:

Duties Column:

Non-Specific and Irrelevant. 0

Words in this category refer to actions that are not associated with work in any way. The act of staring, sneezing, other involuntary movements are included here.

Object Relationship 1

Words in this category imply actions associated with objects normally used in work. Words, such as drive, pound, carry things, are included here.

Public Practice 2

Words in this category refer to activities which involve the worker with issues of potential public note. Generally related to legal issues, which are a matter of public record, such words as defend people, sentence people, are included here.

Private Practice. 3

Words in this category refer to activities engaged in by people who do not deal with public record information ordinarily, particularly in fields of medicine, psychotherapy, ministerial counseling, and so forth. Phrases such as "counsel people" fit here.

Teaching. 4

Words in this category refer to the act of teaching or imparting information for the learning value of the recipient. Words such as "instruct," "tell how to..." fall into this category.

White collar Non-Professional. . . . 5

Words in this category refer to duties and activities of such people as sales people and business people. Clerical words which do not imply common object relationships such as "calculate" along with the less remote terms such as "sell" and "buy" are included here.

Duties Column (cont'd)

Blue-Collar Non-Object. 6

Words in this category refer to inter-worker behaviors such as "binging" or the act of hitting a fellow worker on the upper arm.

Public Ancillary Service. 7

Words in this category refer to the activities common to service occupations involving the worker with members of the general public. Such terms as "guard people" and "protect people" fall into this category.

Private Ancillary Service 8

Words in this category refer to the activities of those involved in private, helping professions below those considered under private practice. Here, in the absence of other supporting information given through the matching task, such words as "nurse people" can be considered a good fit.

Non-specific General. 9

Words in this category in no way indicate a relationship between the worker and the occupational framework, and yet they deal in an abstract manner with the concept of work and are not entirely irrelevant. The term "work" itself fits into this category. Other terms like "push" and "heave" also suggest a relationship to work, but imply no specific object when unmodified.

PAR Column Rationale:

Proximity:

This range deals with five levels of distance from work as an experience. Broken down into three types of experience, these reflect the perspective each respondent brings to describing work.

Primary General. 0

Words in this category denote movements of a general nature which by themselves are acts that can be considered basic units of motion. Such words as "push, heave, lift," and unmodified terms such as "clean, handle," fit here.

Primary Specific 1

Words in this category denote movements which imply a tool or object relationship. Such words as "screw, hammer, nail, drill," fit here. Also terms phrased as "build houses, clean floors," are obviously included.

Note: In determining whether the word is general or specific, look to the matching grid page to trace its use. If the word is used in contrasting occupations in a general application of the word, or if it is not used at all in the matching, code it as General. If it is matched to only one occupation or to occupations in which the use of the word appears to be identical, then code it Specific.

General Abstract 2

Words in this category encompass an entire set of primary activities. In the case of single words, such as "work, teach, administer, farm," where the words imply a number of primary activities, or where the activity mentioned does not specify a particular act, such as in the phrase "help people," "teach people," "build houses," in which many primary specific activities are implied due to the vagueness of the verb, code as GENERAL ABSTRACT.

General Concrete 3

Words in this category describe activities which are essentially superfluous to work. Such words as "sleep, daydream, avoid, thumb twiddling, humming, goofing off," fit here.

Neutral. 4

Words in this category refer to involuntary acts, such as "sneezing, coughing," etc.

PAR Column Rationale: (Cont'd)

Affect:

This range deals with four aspects of affective involvement with the concept of work as inferred from the feeling quality of the work activities listed.

Hostile. 5

Words here reflect an angry tone and are emotionally loaded in a negative direction. Such words as "hit, belt, murder people, scare people," fit here.

Humor. 6

Words here reflect a sense of humor and imply a friendly interpersonal attitude. Such words as "joke, laugh, tickle, tease," fit here.

Original 7

Words here indicate an unusual approach to the act of working and its outcome. Such terms as "flub, succeed," fit here.

Non-Involvement. 8

Words or phrases in this category speak of passive behaviors associated with non-commitment to a task. The term: "do nothing" seems to fit here.

Error. 9

This punch refers to a word which is clearly not an activity, but another job title. For example "painter" would clearly not be an activity.

Not classifiable X

(Ugh.)

Reference Column

Impersonal. 0

Words in this category DO NOT imply an intentional impersonal act. Such words as "cough, grow, sneeze" apply here.

Personal Active. 1

Words in this category refer to acts done as an individual which DO NOT include other people, but might imply an object relationship. Such words as "climb, swim, hammer" fit here.

Personal Reflective. 2

Words in this category refer to personal acts, essentially mental in nature, done by an individual. Such words as "think, meditate, conceptualize," fit here.

Interpersonal. 3

Words in this category describe acts between two or more persons which are done for their own sake rather than for some didactic reason. Such terms as "talk, chat, bull, play, tickle, binging," fit here.

Active and Ego-centric 4

Words in this category refer to terms specific to paying direct attention to one's own person. Such words as "bathing, dressing, cleaning hands, scratching," fit here.

Active and Social. 5

Words in this category refer to terms implicit of social motives which could be political, societal, and altruistic. Words such as "campaign, socialize, soldier," apply here.

Interpersonal and Objective. 6

Words in this category refer to interpersonal activities of a didactic nature. Such words as "teach, instruct, confer, contract," fit here.

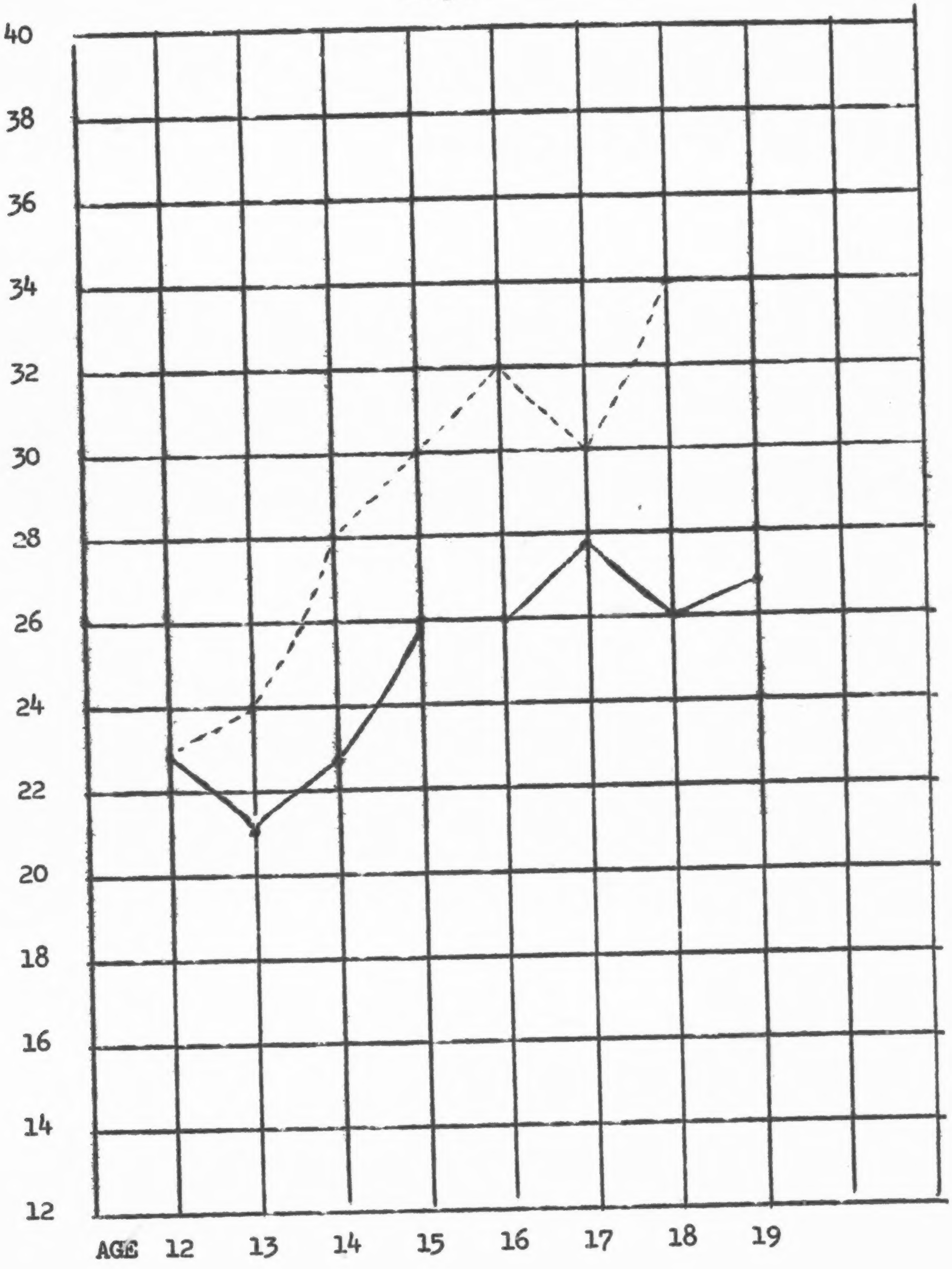
Interpersonal Subjective 7

Words in this category refer to acts of an emotionally loaded nature. Such words as "cheat, love, murder," fit here.

BRIEF TABLE OF MEAN VALUES

VARIABLE	SEX	n	AGE	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	N = 396
Titles	M	207		23	21	23	26	26	28	26	27	
	F	189		23	24	28	30	32	30	34		
Activities	M			22	18	20	22	25	28	21	22	
	F			20	24	27	27	29	28	31		
Jobs Matched	M			18	13	18	19	20	25	20	18	
	F			16	21	22	26	25	24	25		
Max. Matching	M			5.7	3.9	5.1	6.9	7.8	7.3	6.4	8.0	
	F			5.2	8.0	7.2	6.5	8.4	9.7	11.1		
			n's:	30	61	62	75	66	61	32	9	
	M			13	33	34	38	31	33	16	9	
	F			17	28	28	37	35	28	16		

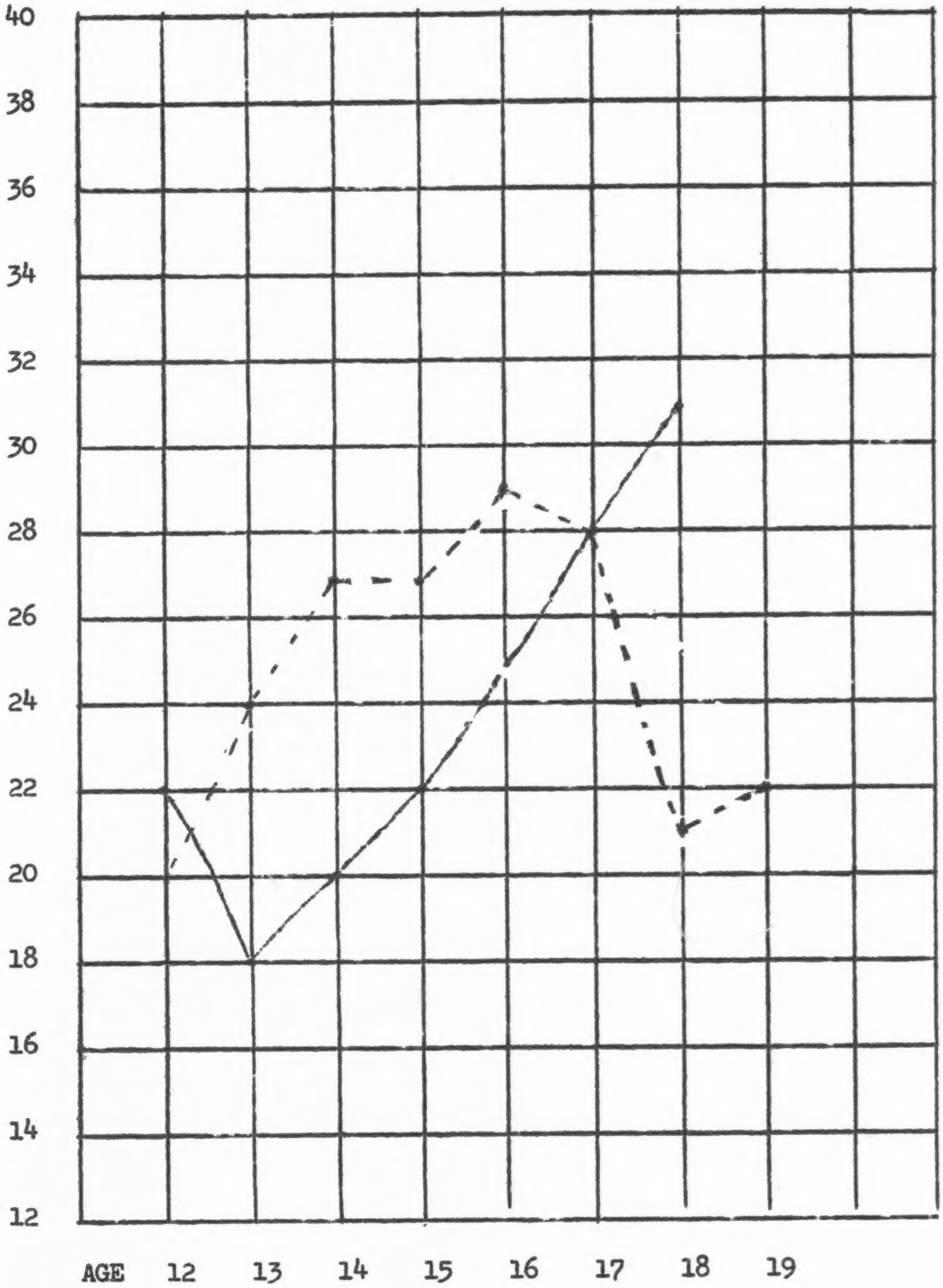
Graph 1



Titles: Mean number of job titles named in five minutes:

_____MALES - - -FEMALES

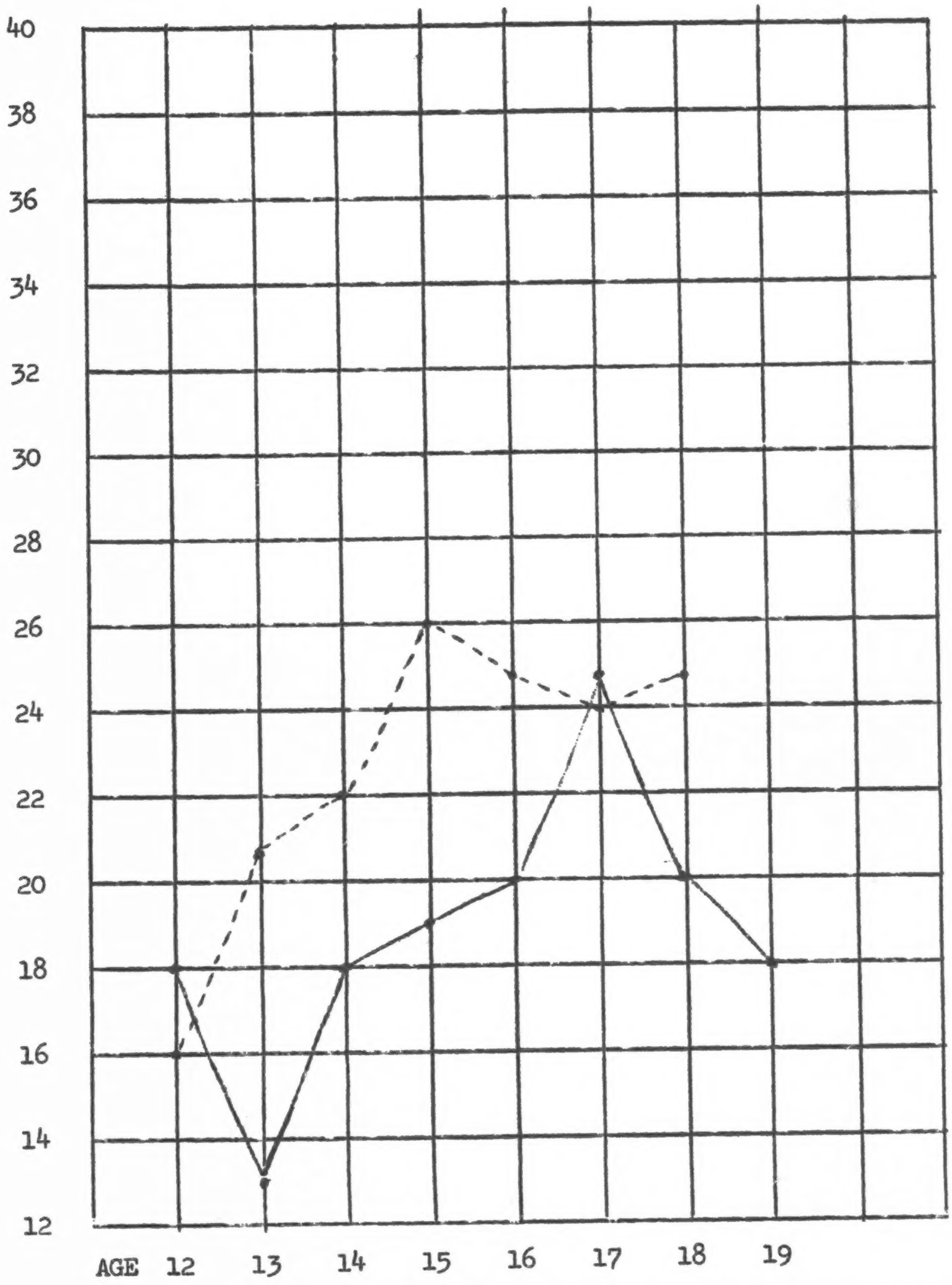
Graph 2



Activities: Mean number of job activities named in five minutes:

_____MALES - - -FEMALES

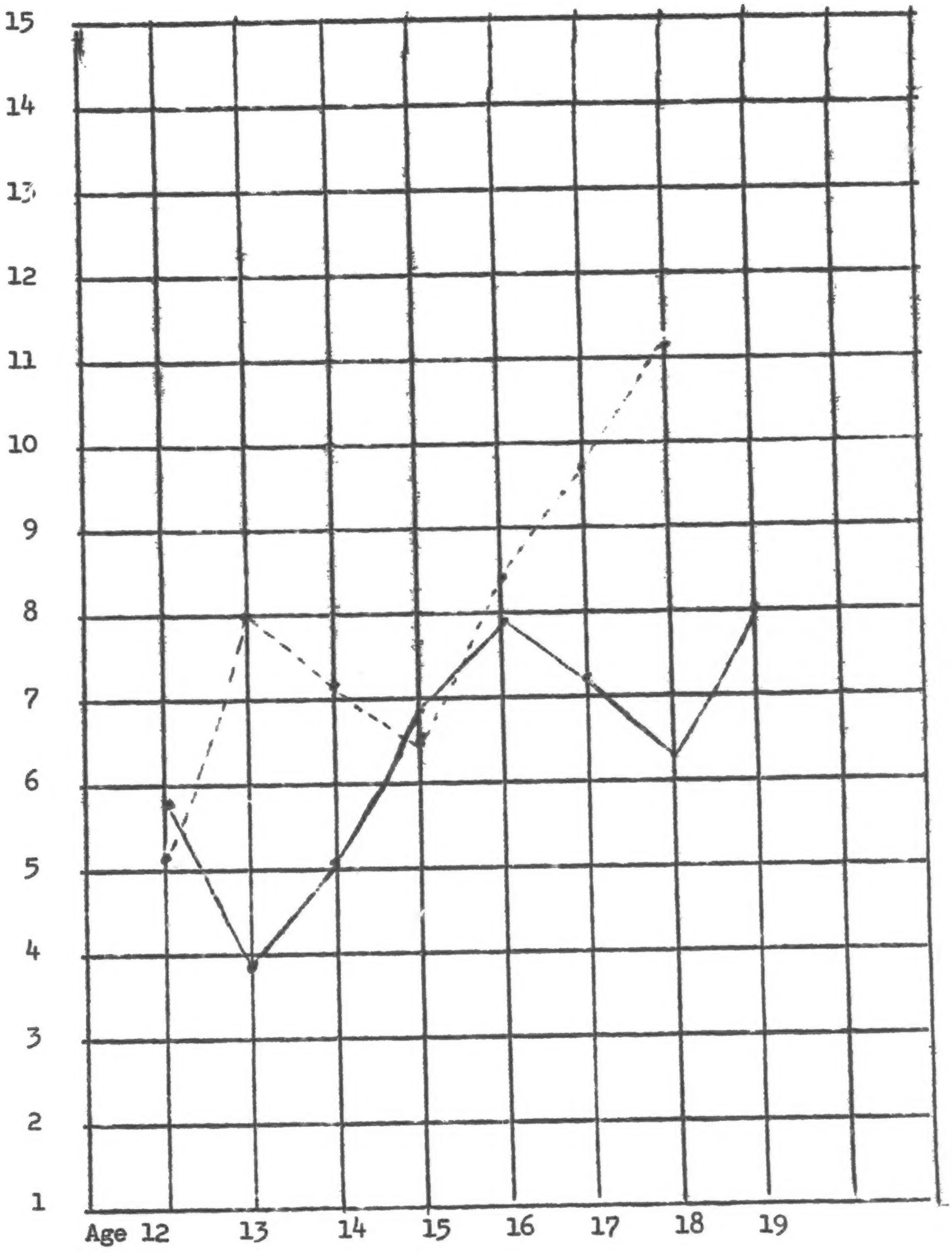
Graph 3



Jobs Matched: Mean number of job titles to which one or more activities assigned within twenty minutes:

______MALES - - - FEMALES

Graph 4



Maximum Matching: Mean number of activities assigned to a job which received the greatest number of assignations:

_____MALES - - - -FEMALES

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PLANNED AND UNPLANNED ASPECTS OF
OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES BY YOUTH:
RELIGION AND OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE

with a special report on
sex and college choice

Contract No. OE-5-85-026

Benton Johnson, Editor

Contributors:
Benton Johnson
Bryce Johnson
Charles C. Langford
Richard H. White

August 25, 1967

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The University of Oregon

Eugene, Oregon

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FOREWORD

This report is one of several final reports of the various research activities of the Center for Research in Occupational Planning (CROP) of the University of Oregon. CROP came into being in 1965 as a result of funds made available by the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

One phase of CROP's research task was to explore the relationship between religious involvement and the occupational orientations of teenagers. The present report contains a summary of the results of this task. The first paper presents a critique of the theoretical model used by many social scientists in their studies of the relationship between religious involvement and various aspects of secular behavior. The alternative model developed in it has been used in CROP's religious study for both research design and data interpretation. The second paper describes this research and presents its major findings. These findings suggest that religious involvement may well influence how young people orient themselves to their occupational futures. Needless to say, the findings reported in the second paper, together with the interpretations we have put upon them, will need empirical support from larger and more broadly representative samples before it can be said with much certainty that they reflect real processes that operate throughout the country.

The third paper was not written in fulfillment of a CROP research commitment. It has nothing to do with religion and it bears only tangentially on occupational choice. It is included in this report because the topic it treats should be of considerable interest to educators. The hypothesis the paper presents and supports with empirical evidence came to the investigators as a hunch at the end of the first year of CROP's existence. Briefly put, the hunch was that boys tend to go to colleges of higher academic quality than girls do. This hypothesis seemed so plausible to the investigators that they were surprised to find nothing in the published literature bearing directly on it. The third paper presents data that strongly supports the hypothesis. In addition, it shows that if the hypothesis is valid, it contains several intriguing and significant implications. The authors of the third paper are greatly indebted to the Institute for Community Studies of the University of Oregon for contributing to the support of the research which it reports.

The Editor

Eugene, Oregon 97403
July 23, 1967

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Benton Johnson is Professor of Sociology and Associate Director of the Center for Research in Occupational Planning at the University of Oregon. He was responsible for directing the research summarized in the present report.

Bryce Johnson is an advanced graduate student in Sociology at the University of Oregon. He holds an NDEA Fellowship. He has actively participated in CROP research since 1966.

Charles C. Langford is also an advanced graduate student in Sociology at the University of Oregon. He served as CROP Research Assistant for two academic years beginning in the fall of 1965. He is completing his doctorate with the aid of an NIMH Predoctoral Fellowship.

Richard H. White, advanced graduate student in Sociology at the University of Oregon, was employed as CROP Research Assistant from the inception of the organization until he was awarded an NDEA Fellowship in the fall of 1965. He continued an active involvement in CROP research until his tragic and untimely death on June 7, 1967.

TOWARD A THEORY OF RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE*

by

Richard H. White

The authors of a recent article published in the American Sociological Review argued that "the relationship of religion to economic and occupational success is the most viable topic of debate in the sociology of religion in the United States."[1] Thus began another contribution to the often confusing and somewhat overflowing file of sociological studies in the "Weberian tradition." It is apparent that much of our theory guiding empirical research in the sociology of religion in the United States has been drawn from Weber's thesis concerning ascetic Protestantism and capitalism. But the results of this research have been confusing.

In an early study of the relationship between religion and economic position, Cantril found that there was a higher ratio of Protestants in higher educational and economic status groups than was the case in the lower educational and economic groups.[2] In another survey reported five years later, Liston Pope found pretty much the same relationship.[3] However, in a very recent analysis of survey data, Glenn and Hyland report that "by the mid-1960's Catholics ranked above Protestants in most aspects of status."[4]

And there is more confusion. Mayer and Sharp, while they did qualify their interpretation to some extent, found in their metropolitan Detroit sample that there was at least some support for a modern day Weber thesis.[5] On the other hand, Mack, Yellin and Murphy reported that there is apparently no relationship between being Catholic or Protestant and being upwardly or downwardly mobile.[6] To go yet another step, the data and analysis of Veroff, Gurin and Feld indicate that Catholics actually score higher than Protestants on tests of achievement motivation.[7] Finally, the study of Andrew Greeley[8] and that of Bressler and Westoff[9] report no significant differences between Catholics and Protestants along the lines that Weber suggested many years ago.

Certainly with this accumulation of confusing, if not conflicting, findings, there is some justification for suggesting that we in the sociology of religion are at a theoretical impasse in our analysis of the Weber thesis in particular and our understanding of religous influence in general. In fact, some have even suggested that religion has no real differentiating impact at all in the contemporary United States--that there is no religious factor operating today.[10]

But surely this diagnosis is too sweeping. We do, in fact, have some fairly well established correlations between religion and secular behavior--particularly political behavior. The fact that Jews and Catholics generally vote Democrat while Protestants are typically more oriented to the Republican Party seems pretty well established.[11] However, even these findings, clear and repeatable though they may be, do not seem to be predictable from any kind of theory of religious influence. So then, as in some of the studies of religion and economic success, we are hard-put to interpret the differences which we do find.

We think that this interpretational impasse reflects the poverty of the theoretical model most sociologists use when they study religion--a model which is typically implicit rather than explicit. This model--which, for lack of a better term, we shall call a "psychological consonance" model--is peculiarly individualistic and makes some questionable assumptions concerning the process of religious influence. These assumptions are: (1) that theology is the primary source of religious behavior, and (2) that individuals who "believe" seek a consonance between these theological tenets and their attitudes and behavior in other spheres of life. Let us examine these two assumptions more critically.

With respect to theology being the source of religious differences, it is apparent that the Weber thesis is bound up entirely with the idea that the practical rationality of ascetic Protestant theology was the primary force in creating, or at least legitimating, a "spirit of capitalism." However, it is difficult to make the same kind of derivations from Jewish theology. Nevertheless, most studies show that Jews "out-Protestant" the Protestants in manifesting both the spirit and the success of capitalism.[12]

In addition to this problem in the Weber thesis, one is hard-put to determine any connection between the Negro Protestant Democratic vote and any particular theological tenets of Negro religion. Along the same lines, Greeley has noted in commenting on a study of the educational and occupational aspirations of college seniors that none of the traits he found to be significantly associated with Protestant, Catholic or Jewish affiliation are clearly derivable from official religious teachings.[13]

So then, the assertion that theological differences are the only, or even the primary, sources of religious differences in other aspects of the religious person's life is highly suspect.

The second assumption of the theoretical model implicit in most of the research we have reviewed is also suspect. This assumption is that the motive force in religious influence is a "within-the-individual" drive for consonance between religious beliefs and behavior in other areas of life. Although few sociologists would care to admit it, this is the only interpretation possible when an individual identification with a broad theological orientation is all that is reported. That is, when we ask for a self-reported religious preference of the Protestant, Catholic, Jewish or Other variety, we are, in effect, trying to ascertain the theological doctrine of the individual. With no other data present, the only interpretation we can make is that theological conviction directs secular behavior.

Following the same argument, when various indices of theological commitment are introduced as control variables, we are led to believe that theology is the primary source of religious influence and that the strength of commitment to that theology leads the individual to discover its implications for other areas of life and to act accordingly. Such an assumption would seem to underlie those indices of religious involvement which measure theological belief or knowledge.

Now, perhaps our implicit acceptance of this kind of "within-the-person" theory stems from the fact that we wish to think of religious influence as something quite different from the other kinds of social influences with which sociologists are concerned. However, our acceptance of this unique kind of influence has led us as sociologists to accept implicitly these two assumptions of religious motivation that we do not generally make in studying other groups.

That the religious factor does not have to be, indeed may not be, a force of psychological consonance stemming directly from theology has been well-demonstrated in the work of Gerhard Lenski.[14] Lenski, much to his credit, set out to measure the religious variable much more closely than any of the other researchers to whom we have referred. Although he still retained the use of the gross theological categories of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, his indices of religious involvement reflect not one but at least two different theoretical models of religious influence. Religion may be seen as a set of theological beliefs in his index of doctrinal orthodoxy. It may also be seen as an object of devotion in his index of devotionalism. Unfortunately, neither of these indices predicted terribly successfully, with the doctrinal orthodoxy index being the least efficient. It is significant, moreover, that both of these indices are based on, or at least reflect, the aforementioned theoretical model of "within-the-person" psychological consistency.

However, Lenski's other two indices of religious involvement--communalism and associationalism--proved to be very efficient predictors. In these, religion is seen as a subcultural or group phenomenon. And, religion so conceived was found to be at least as efficient a predictor as social class.[15] Now the interesting point here is that these two indices rest on a relatively unknown, or at least unused, theoretical model of the religious factor. This model may be termed an interaction model of religious influence.

The basic principles of such a model are rather well-accepted and time-honored concepts in sociology in general. The first of these principles is that religion is first and foremost a group phenomenon. That is, the religious group, regardless of its specific identifying characteristics is, in the last analysis, a group. That is, it is composed of people in interaction with one another.

The second basic principle in the interaction theory is that the religious group, like any other group, has a particular normative structure. That is, the expectations for behavior of any individual member of the group are normative expectations. Granted, these expectations may have the additional force of divine authority; nonetheless, the religious group is characterized by normative expectations, as is any other group. Now, rather than getting bogged down in the issue of just what constitutes a specifically religious norm, at this point it would be just as well to study any norm of the religious group--regardless of whether or not it is logically connected to any body of theological beliefs.

The third basic priniciple of the interaction theory is that these norms are enforced by sanctions, ranging all the way from resounding approval to rejection from the group in disgrace. These sanctions may be mild or severe, obvious or not quite so obvious. They are the kind of sanctions associated with group norms no matter what the group.

Finally, and it is in this area that most studies of the religious factor leave much to be desired, the norms of the religious group are enforced by its members, in interaction with one another. That is, the normative expectations of religious group living are both socialized into the children (or the adult converts) and continually reinforced by the members of the group in interaction with one another.

For all of these reasons, those researchers who attempt to describe a proposed religious influence by categories of theology rather than by groups of people are seeing only a part and perhaps the most insignificant part of religion. Although some might argue that all Catholic groups are essentially the same, we have good evidence that they are not.[16] Likewise, there appears to be a greater diversity in the Jewish faith than some researchers would seem to assume. Finally, it is overwhelmingly apparent that about the only thing that most Protestant groups have in common is the name.[17] Now, many sociologists have argued that we should make finer distinctions in religious orientation than we usually do. However, when religious influence is viewed as normative influence, these group-specific distinctions become more than just evidence of scientific precision--they become theoretically necessary.

Bearing in mind that it is the group norm affecting the participating member's attitudes and behavior, not just the contents of theological doctrine, there remains the intriguing question of just where these group-specific norms come from.

It is clear that Weber has argued altogether too convincingly for the sociologist to immediately eliminate the possibility that some norms are, in fact, derivations from, if not theological precepts, then at least, theological styles. In this we are referring to the "practical rationality" of capitalism that was shaped, at least in part, by the practical rationality of ascetic Protestantism.

But, how did the detached ethical maxims of ascetic Protestantism become transformed into group-specific norms carrying rather severe interpersonal sanctions? We believe that Weber himself gave us at least part of the answer in his analysis of the types of prophecy. The prophet, whether emissary or exemplary is more than likely a charismatic leader whose ethical maxims do in fact, through his authority, become group norms. In fact, the authority of any kind of leadership may be enough to make the difference between an ethical maxim and a sanction-carrying norm.

However, a little reflection will indicate that the prophet or leader making his derivations from theology is not the only--and perhaps not even the most important--source of the norms of the religious group. We have already noted that Greeley found that none of the traits significantly associated with religious preference in college seniors were clearly derivable from theological precepts. Greeley has also argued that many of the "effects" of religion reported in Lenski's work are in fact due to ethnic rather than religious differences.[18]

That is a very interesting point. However, when religion is thought of as a "group" phenomenon, the distinction between ethnicity and religion becomes more apparent than real. That is, any given religious group has a history of its own--a history that is affected by the cultural location of its members, by their relative economic positions, and a host of other "so-called" ethnic factors. The point to be made is that insofar as religious groups are characterized by group-specific norms, these norms constitute the "religious factor" regardless of whether they have been logically derived from theology or picked up somewhere on the Italian countryside.

In a similar fashion, we can (perhaps, for the first time) put Marx and Weber into the same theoretical model. There can be little doubt that the economic position of the members of any given religious group does have an effect on the norms of that group. Such economic concerns as the dependence of the Southern United States on the tobacco industry have doubtless had their effect in the indifference with which Southern Baptists view smoking--an indifference which their fundamentalist northern counterparts do not show. In much the same way, the famous Niebuhr hypothesis of the Social Sources of Denominationalism can be seen as the effect of economic position on religious group norms.[19]

In fact, we could go on and on for the remainder of this paper and never exhaust the possible influences on religious group norms. But let us not again forget that when we are speaking of the religious factor, we are actually dealing with the normative effects of religious group membership.

Now then, what can we say of the utility of the interaction model of religious influence? It certainly cannot explain less than the confusing psychological consonance model of most contemporary research. However, since the initial utility of any given theory in sociology must be evaluated in terms of its fruitfulness in generating testable hypotheses, we would like to suggest four aspects of religion, including the study of religious influence, which could be profitably studied using the interaction model. At the same time, some previous hypotheses and findings will be incorporated into these aspects as they relate to interaction theory.

The first aspect of religion that can be handled in this perspective is the general research question: How is faith acquired? Doomsday Cult, a recent book by John Lofland, fits into the interactionist solution to this particular research problem quite well.[20] Although he described other conditions which must be present for the potential convert, he found that the principal influence at work in bringing in converts to this new and rather bizarre cult was precisely the interpersonal influence of cult members on non-members. In fact, a reasonable hypothesis with respect to the recruiting of new members in any religious group, unless, of course, the members are born into it, would be that the major or deciding factor in religious conversion is interpersonal influence.

A second aspect of religion that "fits" the interactionist perspective quite well is the general research problem: How is the faith maintained? Now although Lofland also notes that interpersonal influence--sanctioning and rewarding--are the key elements in this aspect, the main theoretical breakthrough in this respect came with Bryan Wilson's insightful article on sect development.[21] Sects, which in our terms may be thought of as deviant subcultures of the larger society,[22] can maintain their own distinctive norms and retain their members to the extent that they are able to isolate or insulate their members from the normative expectations of the larger society. Thus, we have the case where a sect can retain its deviant identity by either curtailing interpersonal interaction outside the group or by making such interaction relatively ineffective.

A third area where fruitful hypotheses may be generated from the interaction model is in the area of losing the faith. In actuality, this is the other side of the problem of maintaining the faith. We might, for example, hypothesize that to the extent that an individual receives normative pressures in his interactions with other people to withdraw from the religious group, he will be inclined to do so. Probably the most likely casualty in this respect is the person with strong interactive ties outside the religious group and weak interactive ties within it.

Finally, and more in keeping with the main concern of this paper, the interaction approach is particularly suited to studying the concomitants of faith: in short, the religious factor. Now, regardless of which particular group norm we wish to investigate, it is the main assumption of the interaction theory that any individual will adhere to that norm to the extent that he is in a position to receive sanctions from other members of the religious group. That is, the fact that an individual believes strongly or even prays often is not as effective in directing his behavior as are the sanctions he receives from other people.

So then, a modified Weber hypothesis would be: To the extent that an individual ascetic Protestant interacts mainly with other ascetic Protestants, either through formal participation in group meetings or in informal primary groups (thus being in a position to receive sanctions from other people), he will manifest more of "the spirit of capitalism" than will his Catholic counterpart. In addition, the ascetic Protestant whose interpersonal relationships are predominantly with non-ascetic Protestants will be less "capitalistic" than the one with monolithic and supportive relationships.[23] Of course, we could only test such hypotheses as these if we were willing to assume that each ascetic Protestant religious group is characterized by the norms of the "spirit of capitalism" and that each non-ascetic Protestant group is not. It would be better if we could get a norm profile of the specific religious groups in question before we test the effects of these norms on the lives of individuals.

Dealing only with those relatively few norms that are known to be specific to certain broad categories of religious groups, we could suggest that if a devout Catholic interacts primarily with Protestant fundamentalists at work or even within his own family, he might take a dimmer view of drinking and gambling than he would if his interaction were confined to other Catholics. What is more, there might be some tendency for him to vote Republican even though his coreligionists are predominantly Democrats. The hypotheses derivable from the interaction theory can be multiplied almost indefinitely. Of course, once we get beyond the norms that characterize all religious groups of a certain type, our hypotheses will necessarily become more restricted in scope: In fact, they might in the final analysis become hypotheses about specific congregations.

In conclusion then, it can be seen that those studies of the religious factor which include only the personal adherence to a broad category of theological precepts as their independent variable have no room for what the religious factor may in fact be, namely the normative pressure of interpersonal expectations. To the extent that religion is any kind of an influencing factor at all in the individual behavior in these studies, it can only be in an individualistic or psychologistic fashion wherein the assumption is that the individual generalizes the specifics of theological belief to other areas of his life. Research that has been generated from this model has proven either contradictory or inefficient at best. An alternative to this conceptualization of religious influence is the interactionist perspective wherein religious influence becomes a category of social influence in general. While many of the details of this particular theory remain to be worked out, we have outlined the basic elements of the theory drawing on rather well-accepted principles of social theory in general and have indicated its relevance to previously isolated and unrelated findings and hypotheses in the sociology of religion. Although many additional hypotheses can be derived from the interaction theory, few have as yet been tested, indicating that the possibilities for future research are relatively unlimited. Finally, and most importantly, when the findings of this kind of research are reported, we will, perhaps for the first time in the sociology of religion, know more precisely what it is that we are calling the religious factor.

FOOTNOTES

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17. Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension. Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally and Company, 1965, Chapter 5.

18. Greeley, op. cit.

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20. John Lofland, Doomsday Cult, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

21. Bryan R. Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," American Sociological Review, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 3-15.

22. Benton Johnson, "On Church and Sect," American Sociological Review, 28, (August, 1963), pp. 539-549.

23. Although Lenski tested some similar hypotheses in his Detroit study, it should be pointed out that he did not distinguish ascetic Protestants from other Protestants. In view of this, it is somewhat surprising that he found as much correlation between religion and economic orientation as he did.

RELIGION AND OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE: A STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

by

Benton Johnson and Charles C. Langford

The Problem

Ever since Max Weber published his essay concerning the role of Protestantism in the origin of capitalism in Europe and North America, the relationship between religion and economic behavior has commanded the interest of scholars of several disciplines. Historians continue to debate the validity of the Weber thesis itself. Social scientists, on the other hand, have tried to determine whether the relationships Weber set forth are discernible today in the attitudes and behavior of individuals. Indeed, it is safe to say that the vast majority of sociological studies of the relation of religious involvement to a whole host of career-relevant variables have been influenced at least to some degree by the Weber thesis.

But it is also safe to say that the results of these Weber-inspired sociological studies of contemporary American society are inconclusive.[1] Our general knowledge of the relationship between religion and occupational behavior is hazy indeed. How shall we react to this confusing situation? Some may decide to abandon the whole research problem and maintain that there are no consistent relationships between religion and occupational behavior in the United States at the present time. We believe, however, that there is insufficient evidence for such a sweeping assertion. Others may point out, quite correctly, that since almost none of the studies making use of the Weber thesis have interpreted it in strict accordance with Weber's own thinking, a more truly Weberian interpretation might well prove valid. This is a legitimate reaction but an unpromising one in view of the low probability that Weber's argument is itself an adequate statement about historical reality. If the thesis is in some degree inaccurate as a description of the period Weber was concerned with, it is almost certain to be inaccurate as a description of a period with which he was not concerned, viz., modern times. In view of all this the most promising thing to do is to make use of an alternative theory. But the sad truth is that no relevant theoretical alternative of a scope comparable to that of the Weber thesis exists in the sociology of religion. If we are to continue our investigations in this research area we shall have to build theory for ourselves.

Procedure

This is what we decided to do at an early stage in the planning of the present research. We decided, moreover, that the most economical way of formulating general relationships would be to construct them after the collection of data rather than to construct them in advance in the form of specific hypotheses. The construction of theory in advance of the inspection of data is most profitable in fields in which a large fund of established knowledge already exists. In such fields the very process of building a theory enhances the probability of its validity, since no theory will be entertained that makes predictions that are totally contrary to established empirical knowledge. But the present research area is woefully short of such a fund of knowledge. Since we have so few checks on the free exercise of imagination in this area, the probability that any one of the many theories we might construct will be substantially disconfirmed is extremely high. It seemed preferable therefore to build theory on the basis of some kind of empirical knowledge, i.e., to build it on the basis of data, than to build it on uninformed hunch. This means we have relied rather heavily on inductive processes of theory building. Instead of predicting specific relationships between religious involvement and, say, career preference, we have asked whether any discernible relationship exists between these two variables. We have relied on research questions instead of hypotheses.

Even though no specific predictions have been made, our research design does reflect several distinct theoretical presuppositions. All research, whether exploratory or predictive, is guided by some kind of conceptual scheme. Decisions must be made about what questions to ask, what variables to use, how they should be measured, and how to categorize the responses subjects make. Since our treatment of religious involvement reflects a position that is not universal among sociologists of religion, it will be well to explain our approach.

Our conceptualization and measurement of religious involvement owes a great deal to the model of religious influence developed by Richard H. White in the preceding paper. This model, based in part on the approaches of Gerhard Lenski and Andrew M. Greeley, states that religious influence is no different from other kinds of social influence. That is to say, the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of "religious" people are in large part normatively prescribed. These norms constitute the culture of groups whose members have a sense of identity, interact with one another frequently and reward or punish one another for adhering to or breaking the standards of the group. From this point of view religious involvement is a matter of group participation. If one wishes to identify the distinctive culture of a religious group one must therefore investigate those who participate most actively in group affairs. Now sociologists would not think this approach unorthodox if they were to investigate the culture of trade unions or Rotary Clubs. But, as White shows, many sociologists have adopted a different approach to the study of religion. In the first place, they have shown an amazing naivete concerning religious group differences. They have typically and without cogent reason classified together such seemingly diverse bodies as Missouri Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists and Unitarians. All too often they have made no distinction between people who actively participate in religious group life and those who participate rarely or not at all. Moreover, many indices of religious involvement appear to be based on the assumption that the behavior of religious people is a simple consequence of individual spiritual experience or adherence to formal theological doctrines. Yet, as White also shows, much of what we know about the distinctive behavior of religious people cannot be accounted for in theological terms.

We have approached religious involvement in terms of participation in the organized activities of churches. Our principal concern is whether in fact those who form the participating nuclei of various kinds of churches have distinctive orientations toward their occupations. Since it is impossible in a small-scale study such as this to treat each congregation or even each denomination as a distinct group, it has been necessary to run the risk of obscuring some very real differences among religious bodies. We have, however, avoided classifying together groups which we have substantial reason to believe are markedly different in tradition and current outlook. We have, for example, excluded from analysis all members of religious bodies which are highly distinctive and are represented by a mere handful of respondents in our sample. Among those excluded are Christian Scientists, Mormons, Buddhists, Jews, Episcopalians and Jehovah's Witnesses. We have treated Roman Catholics as a single category but we have divided Protestants into several categories. Lutherans have been classified separately from respondents belonging to the "ascetic" branches of Protestantism.[2] These latter bodies have been broken down into liberal and conservative categories. This has been done because the character of contemporary liberal Protestant theology and social doctrine suggests that the bodies in which such teaching is prominent should not be classified with the more traditionalist bodies. We have relied in large part on Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark's study of the laity of the San Francisco area in determining which bodies to classify as liberal and which to classify as conservative.[3] The denominations classified as liberal are the Methodist, United Presbyterian, and Congregational (United Church of Christ). All other ascetic Protestant denominations were classified as conservative. The principal conservative bodies in our sample are the Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Churches of Christ, and various holiness and pentecostal denominations such as the Church of the Nazarene and the Assemblies of God. In addition, independent "bible" or "gospel" churches were classified as conservative Protestant, as were certain bodies bearing names similar to the more liberal denominations but not sharing the liberal views of the latter. Chief among these bodies are the Free Methodists, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the Orthodox Presbyterians.

The questions we asked concerning occupational orientation were in part determined by the general purpose of the CROP investigations, which was to clarify the processes by which young people make occupational decisions. The data reported here consist of the responses of our subjects to basic questions bearing on their occupational futures. The pattern of responses to certain other related questions will be reported in later papers. The basic questions reported on here concern our subjects' stated occupational preferences, the reasons why these occupations appeal to them, whether they have reached a decision about their future occupation, and whether they plan to attend college. All our subjects were seniors in high school.

Since this was an exploratory study designed to find out whether religious people have distinctive occupational orientations, we relied rather heavily on open-ended questions. In some cases it would have been possible to use standard forced-choice instruments, but we rejected most devices of this kind because we were not sure the response options included the full range of attitudes and opinions of the members of our sample. Rather than force our subjects to adapt their views to a set of preconceived categories we decided to let them speak for themselves. This procedure places a heavy burden on the investigator, for he must impose some order on these responses, but burdensome as it is, we believe it is better for the trained investigator to make abstractions based on the respondent's own words than it is to require respondents to distort their thoughts by forcing them into ready-made categories that have little meaning to them.

In an effort to determine whether our questions make sense to teenagers and to gain some preliminary impressions about religion and occupational orientation, we conducted interviews with over 100 high school students during the early part of 1966. All these students were participants in organized church-sponsored youth groups in the cities of Eugene or Springfield, Oregon. The interviews took place at regularly scheduled meetings of these youth groups. The groups were selected from 12 different denominations. Most of the questions proved usable. The interview schedule was then revised and adapted for administration as a paper-and-pencil questionnaire. In the late spring, at the very close of the school year, this questionnaire was administered to 257 graduating seniors at a predominantly white working-class high school in a large metropolitan center in the Pacific Northwest. The students were selected by means of a systematic sample of every second name on an alphabetized, up-to-date list of members of the senior class. Two hundred and ninety-five students were included in the sample, 87 per cent of whom completed questionnaires.

Once collected, the information was transferred to IBM cards for analysis. To do this, the information on open-ended questions was put in coded form. Except where indicated below, codes were devised from inspection of the data from this high school. These codes were devised either from theoretical relevance and/or from frequency of appearance. When the codes were made up, the questionnaires were coded twice--once each by two different people. Then the coding decisions of the two persons were compared against each other to be sure they agreed. Discrepancy between two coders' judgments were resolved by the junior author. On occasion the resolution resulted in further operationalization of the code.

It is necessary to describe three of our codes in some detail. The first of these codes has to do with religious involvement. Our subjects were asked to name the specific church, if any, they had ordinarily attended during the preceding year, and they were also asked to report how frequently they had gone to church during that time. Subjects who had gone to church at least once a month were classified as frequent church attenders. They were then assigned to one of our previously described religious categories on the basis of their reported denomination. All subjects who reported they had attended church less than once a month but more than twice a year were excluded from analysis. This was done because we wished to restrict our comparisons to nuclear participants, i.e., to those with an active involvement in organized religion. At the same time, however, we also wished to compare our various categories of frequent church attenders with a control group consisting of all those subjects whose church participation was minimal or nonexistent. This group, which we have called the unchurched, consists of those who reported that they had attended church no more than twice during the preceding year. To sum up, all marginal church participators and those involved in distinctive, minor religious traditions were excluded from analysis. Those included in the tables that follow are the unchurched and four categories of frequent church attenders, viz., the Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Liberal ascetic Protestants, and Conservative ascetic Protestants.

The code we have used to classify our subjects' reported occupational preference also differs from most occupational codes. It is reproduced in Figure 1. In devising this code it was decided not to rely on any single fundamentum divisionis such as prestige ranking, but to rely instead on a variety of criteria. The code was developed by inspecting the responses of the youth whom we interviewed early in 1966. Most of the particular distinctions incorporated into the code reflect the attempt to conceptualize what we felt to be the more prominent response tendencies of our interviewees. For example, a great many of our respondents mentioned nonmanual occupations that offer skilled services to individuals or to the public at large. It

Figure 1

CODE FOR REPORTED OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES OF RESPONDENTS

I. Skilled nonmanual occupations (more than routine education, skill or talent is required):

1. Symbol- and/or object-oriented occupations

   The job must deal primarily with physical objects or symbols rather than people and not be otherwise codable under any other category. Examples: airplane pilot, computer programmer, accountant.

2. Academic occupations

   These are occupations involving college-level teaching or research.

3. Artistic, Creative, or Performing occupations

   These are music, painting, drama, dance, nonjournalistic writing, entertaining, and professional athletics.

4. Law, medicine, or dentistry

5. Other personal service occupations

   The job must offer services to people on a face-to-face basis and not be classifiable under any other category. Examples: school teaching, social worker, nurse, pastor, beautician, barber.

6. Public service occupations

   The work must involve performing services for or on behalf of the public. Examples: politician, diplomat, member of the armed forces, journalist.

7. Managerial or Entrepreneurial occupations

   The work must primarily involve responsibility for managing a work force or directing an enterprise.

II. Other nonmanual occupations

8. Other nonmanual occupations

   Examples: waitress, clerk, airline stewardess, salesman, secretary, receptionist.

III. Manual occupations

9. All manual occupations

seemed useful, therefore, to distinguish among several different kinds of service occupations. Similarly, although most respondents mentioned nonmanual occupations requiring more than routine education, skill or talent, some mentioned nonmanual jobs that are essentially routine and easily learned. It was possible, in view of the numbers of responses involved, to make quite a few distinctions within the category of skilled nonmanual occupations, but too few mentioned the routine nonmanual occupations to warrant further breakdowns within that category. By the same token, so few mentioned manual occupations that it seemed pointless to make any distinctions among working-class jobs.

Finally, we devised a special code for responses to questions asking why the occupations our subjects named appeal to them.[4] As before, this code was devised on the basis of the responses obtained during the interview phase of the research. Once again, the format of the code was largely guided by what appeared to be the more prominent response tendencies. It seemed both theoretically relevant and empirically warranted to divide the responses into those that indicate an interest in what we have called the "work process proper," i.e., the major tasks of the occupation, and those that do not. Among the latter responses there seemed to be a distinction between an interest in some aspect of the work or its setting that is incidental to the major work tasks, and an interest in what we have labeled the consequences, or outcome, of the work. To sum up by way of an illustration, some people want to become a barber because they like to groom hair, others because they enjoy talking to customers, and still others because they think barbers earn a good, steady income. These three basic categories were in turn broken down into sub-categories. A great many respondents said in one way or another that people are an important reason why they prefer certain occupations. Some reported that they want to become school teachers because they love to work with children; others want to become waitresses because they like to be around people. Because of the prominence of such people-oriented responses the first two categories above were broken down into people-oriented and non-people-oriented responses. The third category was broken down into private and altruistic consequences. Private consequences are those affecting the respondent, his family or friends; and altruistic consequences are those that contribute to the welfare of people beyond these circles, including the public at large.

The code described above is presented in Figure 2. It should be pointed out that many respondents made more than one codable response to this question. The fact that a respondent is coded, say, as having made an altruistic response (category 8) does not preclude his also being coded as having made a private consequences response (category 6), or indeed any other type of response. This should be borne in mind in the following analysis.

In the analysis to follow we have treated religious participation as an independent variable. All the tables to be presented contain a control for sex of respondent and for the occupational status of respondents' fathers or guardians. Two categories of occupational status are used, viz., high status (nonmanual occupations) and low status (manual occupations). Other controls would no doubt be useful, but in view of the size of the sample these two controls, which represent factors known to be associated with occupational orientation, will have to suffice. Most of the data are reported in percentages.

We have not made use of tests of statistical significance in determining which relationships to ignore and which to place confidence

Figure 2

CODE FOR REASONS WHY OCCUPATIONS APPEAL TO RESPONDENTS

I. Appeal of the work process proper

    1. people-oriented appeal
    2. non-people-oriented appeal

II. Appeal of incidental aspects of the work process proper

    4. people-oriented appeal
    5. non-people-oriented appeal

III. Appeal of consequences of the occupation

    6. private consequences: money, prestige, fame
    7. other private consequences
    8. altruistic consequences

in. Our primary interest is not in making statements about the population from which our sample was taken, viz., a single graduating class in a west coast high school. Our interest is in constructing propositions that can be tested on larger, more broadly representative samples. Consequently, although magnitude of relationship will affect the weight we attach to our findings, wherever a number of specific relationships seem to form an interpretable pattern we will call attention to this pattern even if some of these relationships are rather weak. An interpretable pattern is an abstract or summary statement about the data that appears plausible in light of other knowledge both theoretical and empirical. In short, our induction will be guided and checked by the data and by outside standards of plausibility as well. The test of these inductions will be their ability to predict relationships in other sets of data.

Findings

Twenty-two of our 257 public high school respondents were excluded from analysis because they failed to provide enough information to permit them to be classified. Of the remaining 235, 38 per cent were classified as unchurched and 43 per cent as frequent attenders of denominations classifiable under one of our religious categories. The remaining 19 per cent, consisting of frequent attenders of minor, distinctive denominations, and all occasional attenders, were excluded from analysis.

Our data reveal several patterns which general population surveys have shown to be characteristic of the nation at large. This fact strengthens our confidence that our seniors are not grossly unrepresentative of seniors in general. First, studies have repeatedly shown that women are more faithful church attenders than men. Our data show that a considerably lower proportion of the unchurched than of frequent attenders are females. Specifically, 42 per cent of the unchurched and 60 per cent of the churched[5] are girls. Secondly, studies have also shown that denominations differ in the socioeconomic status of their membership. Liberal Protestant denominations tend to have a higher proportion of high-status members than either the Roman Catholic Church or Lutheran bodies. The unchurched and the membership of Conservative Protestant denominations are disproportionately working class. Our data show that among frequent attenders, Liberal Protestants are most likely and Conservative Protestants least likely to come from nonmanual homes. Catholics are second to Liberal Protestants in proportion nonmanual, followed in turn by the unchurched and by the Lutherans.[6]

One thing became quite clear early in the analysis of the data: our frequent church attenders do not differ among themselves in any consistent manner, especially when socioeconomic status is taken into account. There are, to be sure, many differences among the various religious categories, but it has proved difficult to draw meaningful inferences from them. One kind of difference shows up with considerable regularity, however, and that is a difference in the response pattern of the unchurched in relation to frequent church attenders as a whole. We were frankly not prepared for such a finding, for it was our hunch that if religion made any difference at all in occupational orientation, the kind of difference it made would vary by religious tradition. That the particular church a teenager attends may make less difference in his occupational outlook than the fact that he regularly attends some church is a finding of major theoretical significance. It is clearly the most important general finding of the entire study.[7] Therefore we shall confine our attention in the following presentation to comparisons between the unchurched and the churched, i.e., between those who do not go to church at all and those who attend some church on a regular basis.

For reasons that will become clear presently, we will begin our analysis by considering the responses of the sexes separately. Let us start with the girls. Table 1 presents the relationship between religious participation and the kinds of occupations our female respondents regard as ideal for them.[8] The table shows that almost no one would prefer to enter a manual occupation. The vast majority of both the unchurched and the churched girls aspire to positions of middle-class status or higher. There is, however, one category of nonmanual work that the churched girls are far more likely than the unchurched to regard as ideal. This is work that is often referred to as the "helping professions."[9] To be sure, almost none of the

Table 1

IDEAL OCCUPATIONS OF
CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED
FEMALES

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
Occupational Categories:				
Symbol- or object-oriented	1	3	2	5
Academic	0	0	1	0
Artistic, creative, or performing	3	0	2	0
Law, medicine, or dentistry	1	0	1	1
Other personal service	4	6	16	16
Public service	0	0	3	0
Managerial or entrepreneurial	1	0	0	1
Other nonmanual	6	8	5	6
All manual	0	0	0	1
	16	17	30	30

respondents aspire to become doctors, but a strikingly large proportion of the churched girls report that they would like to enter such fields as nursing, school teaching, or social work. This pattern appears to be independent of the socioeconomic status of the respondents' families. Table 2 summarizes this finding. Over one half of the churched girls of both working-class and middle-class background aspire to skilled nonmanual positions involving services to individuals. On the other hand, among the unchurched less than a third of girls of working-class background and less than a quarter of girls of middle-class background aspire to such positions.

This pattern of vocational interest is not surprising in view of the strong tradition of charitable service to individuals in most branches of Christianity. If the occupational aspirations of churched girls reflects the Christian norm of personal charity, then this should be evident in the answers our respondents wrote to the question, "What appeals to you about this job?" Our data show that this is in fact the case. In the first place, the girls who go to church frequently are much more likely than the unchurched to write that their ideal occupation appeals to them because the basic activities of the job itself--the "work process proper"--involve working with people. This finding is shown in Table 3. In the second place, girls who attend church often are considerably more likely than those who do not go at all to report that their ideal occupation appeals to them for "altruistic" reasons. Now it will be recalled that in order for a response to be coded as altruistic it was necessary for the subject to report that his ideal occupation appeals to him because of the good it accomplishes for others beside himself or his family. Table 4 shows that only five of the 36 unchurched girls report an altruistic appeal of their fantasy

Table 2

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED FEMALES MENTIONING A PERSONAL SERVICE IDEAL OCCUPATION (in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	25	35	53	53
N	16	17	30	30

Table 3

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED FEMALES REPORTING IDEAL OCCUPATION APPEALS BECAUSE "WORK PROCESS PROPER" INVOLVES WORKING WITH PEOPLE (in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	29	32	59	42
N	17	19	29	31

Table 4

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED FEMALES REPORTING THAT IDEAL OCCUPATION APPEALS FOR ALTRUISTIC REASONS (in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	6	21	38	42
N	17	19	29	31

occupation. By contrast, more than a third of the churched girls in both socioeconomic categories report an altruistic appeal.

It should also be pointed out that the churched are less likely than the unchurched to mention money, fame, or prestige as appealing aspects of their fantasy occupations, but since only a handful of respondents mentioned any of these things, this table has not been included in the report.

Tables 3 and 4 strongly support the interpretation that occupational selection among girls who go to church regularly is guided by consideration of humanitarian service to others. The remaining patterns of codable responses to the question of the appeals of the ideal occupation are a little harder to interpret. There is essentially no difference between the churched and the unchurched in proportion reporting they are attracted by some aspect of the work process proper that does not directly involve people. The unchurched are somewhat more likely than the churched to mention an incidental aspect of the work process proper. They are particularly likely to mention that a people-oriented incidental aspect of their ideal occupation appeals to them. This means that the girls who do not go to church are more likely than the girls who go regularly to have an interest in people that is incidental to the main business of the job itself. For the most part this interest is in meeting people or in simply being around them. This finding does not, therefore, negate our earlier interpretation.

Is the preference of the churched girls for service occupations merely a verbalization of pious sentiments which they have no intention of acting on? Our data suggest that this is not the case. Table 5 shows that the churched are far more likely than the unchurched to report that a personal service occupation is their first choice among

Table 5

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED FEMALES SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING A PERSONAL SERVICE OCCUPATION (in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	29	33	50	62
N	17	18	28	26

the occupations they have actually been considering going into.[10] Finally, Table 6 reveals that the churched girls are also more likely to name such an occupation as the one they will probably actually enter.[11] The proportion of the churched and the unchurched girls who name a service occupation is remarkably constant in all three of the tables concerning occupational preference. Approximately half the churched girls but only about a fourth of the unchurched girls name such an occupation in response to each of the three questions about future work.

Is church participation related to occupational preference among our male subjects in the same way that it is among the females? The answer to this question is an emphatic no. Table 7 reports the proportion of churched and unchurched boys, with class background controlled, who name a personal service occupation as their ideal choice.[12] There is no appreciable difference between the churched and the unchurched in preference for careers of this sort. Table 8 shows what is essentially a similar pattern of response to the question of which job, among those actually being considered, the respondents would prefer.[13] Table 9, which reports the occupations the boys say that they will probably go into,[14] does show that upper-status churched boys are more likely than any other category of male subjects to name a personal service occupation, but in view of the findings reported in the two previous tables, and in view of the very small number of boys involved, this finding should be interpreted with caution.

The over-all pattern is clear enough: among our male subjects there is no consistent relationship between church participation and preference for skilled occupations offering face-to-face services to individuals. One other pattern is also clear, and that is that girls, whether churched or unchurched, find these occupations more attractive

Table 6

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED FEMALES
PROBABLY OR DEFINITELY CHOOSING
A PERSONAL SERVICE OCCUPATION
(in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	40	22	60	50
N	15	18	25	28

Table 7

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED MALES
MENTIONING A PERSONAL SERVICE
IDEAL OCCUPATION
(in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	11	7	0	9
N	19	28	16	22

Table 8

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED MALES
SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING
A PERSONAL SERVICE OCCUPATION
(in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	9	11	13	13
N	22	27	15	24

Table 9

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED MALES
PROBABLY OR DEFINITELY CHOOSING
A PERSONAL SERVICE OCCUPATION
(in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	12	12	27	11
N	17	25	15	19

than boys do. Most of these occupations are, as a matter of fact, careers in which women predominate.

We are forced to modify our hypothesis concerning the effect of Christian norms of humanitarian service to individuals by adding the condition that it applies only to females. This modification may be disconcerting but it is hardly surprising. Although the moral norms of Christianity have often been officially phrased in a universalistic manner, i.e., they have been deemed binding on everyone everywhere, Christianity has also traditionally accepted the assignment of women to domestic or other roles which require that they be of personal assistance to others.

Even though the churched boys are no more likely than the unchurched boys to plan careers in the personal service professions, it is possible that church participation among boys may be associated with preference for some other category of work. Tables 10, 11 and 12 present the pattern of responses of churched and unchurched males, by occupational status of their fathers, to each of the three questions concerning occupational preference. It will be readily seen that the boys' choices are not as heavily concentrated in any single occupational category as were the girls' choices. In short, the boys' responses are more evenly spread over a wider range of careers than are the girls' responses. This is just as true of the boys who go to church frequently as it is of the boys who do not go at all. Moreover, the tables show few consistent differences between the churched and the unchurched in patterns of occupational preference. And most of those differences that do hold for all three of the tables are not independent of socioeconomic status. High-status boys who go to church regularly are more likely than high-status boys who do not go to church

Table 10

IDEAL OCCUPATIONS OF CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED MALES

Occupational categories:	Unchurched high status	Unchurched low status	Churched high status	Churched low status
Symbol- or object-oriented	6	8	2	6
Academic	1	1	1	0
Artistic, creative, or performing	2	2	4	4
Law, medicine, or dentistry	1	3	4	1
Other personal service	2	2	0	2
Public service	2	4	3	2
Managerial or entrepreneurial	4	3	1	3
Other nonmanual	0	0	0	0
All manual	1	5	1	4
	19	28	16	22

Table 11

OCCUPATIONS CHURCHED AND
UNCHURCHED MALES ARE
SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING

Occupational categories:	Unchurched high status	Unchurched low status	Churched high status	Churched low status
Symbol- or object-oriented	10	11	1	8
Academic	0	0	1	0
Artistic, creative, or performing	2	2	1	2
Law, medicine, or dentistry	0	3	6	2
Other personal service	2	3	2	3
Public service	1	2	2	1
Managerial or entrepreneurial	3	2	0	3
Other nonmanual	1	0	0	0
All manual	3	4	2	5
	22	27	15	24

Table 12

OCCUPATIONS CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED MALES PROBABLY (OR DEFINITELY) WILL CHOOSE

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
Occupational categories:				
Symbol- or object-oriented	6	5	4	5
Academic	0	0	1	0
Artistic, creative, or performing	1	0	0	0
Law, medicine, or dentistry	0	4	3	2
Other personal service	2	3	4	2
Public service	1	2	2	1
Managerial or entrepreneurial	5	2	0	3
Other nonmanual	0	0	0	0
All manual	2	9	1	6
	17	25	15	19

to name law, medicine, or dentistry in response to each of the three occupational questions, but this tendency is reversed among boys of low status. Similarly, high-status boys who go to church frequently have an aversion for the two categories of careers which we have labeled "symbol- and/or object-oriented" (e.g., engineer or laboratory technician) and "managerial and entrepreneurial." But again this pattern is not repeated among boys of low status. Boys who go to church frequently are more likely than the other boys to prefer careers in the arts or in sports. This finding is independent of socioeconomic status, but it shows up only at the "ideal" level. In view of the ambiguous character of these patterns and the small number of cases in each cell of the tables, one should interpret these findings with extreme caution. What remains clear, however, is that among our male subjects going to church frequently is not associated with the kind of marked preference for a single category of occupation that shows up among the girls.

We have already seen that among girls the churched are more likely than the unchurched to report that the occupations they prefer appeal to them because they involve face-to-face services to individuals and because they involve doing things that are useful to others. Although we can discern no comparable relationship between regular church attendance and the kind of occupation boys wish or plan to go into, it is still possible that attendance is related to the appeals various occupations have for boys. For example, boys who go to church regularly might look upon electrical engineering as an important service to society, whereas boys who do not go to church might look on the same career as a source of high and steady income.

Since boys are considerably less likely than girls to name as their ideal occupation a career offering face-to-face services to individuals, we cannot expect that very many will mention a people-oriented aspect of the work process proper as a reason for the appeal their ideal occupation has for them. This expectation is borne out by Table 13, which shows that only seven boys mention such an appeal. Moreover, boys who go to church frequently are not proportionately more numerous among those who do mention it. That people are not an important consideration of any kind among our boys may be suggested by the fact that only a handful mention people as an occupational appeal incidental to the work process proper. This may be seen in Table 14, which also shows that the churched are no more likely than the unchurched to give a people-oriented response. In short, our boys are far less likely than our girls to say an occupation is appealing because it permits them to help people, work with them, or simply be around them. Moreover, among boys church participation is not related to the tendency to mention a people-oriented appeal.

Table 15 shows that only a very small number of boys report that their ideal occupations appeal to them for altruistic reasons. Boys who go to church regularly are more likely to mention an altruistic appeal than are boys who do not go at all, but the number of cases is so small that this finding is scarcely worth noting. Once more the boys' response pattern differs dramatically from that of the girls.[15]

Our quest for differences in occupational orientation between churched and unchurched males has so far been unsuccessful. There is, however, one aspect of the boys' ideal occupations that has a greater appeal for those who attend church frequently than for those who do not go at all. As Table 16 shows, churched boys are more likely than unchurched boys to report that some aspect of the work process proper not involving people appeals to them. Two-thirds of the boys who

Table 13

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED MALES REPORTING IDEAL OCCUPATION APPEALS BECAUSE "WORK PROCESS PROPER" INVOLVES WORKING WITH PEOPLE

(in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	5	7	6	13
N	20	28	16	23

Table 14

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED MALES REPORTING IDEAL OCCUPAION APPEALS FOR "PEOPLE-ORIENTED" REASONS INCIDENTAL TO "WORK PROCESS PROPER"

(in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	10	11	0	9
N	20	28	16	23

Table 15

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED MALES REPORTING IDEAL OCCUPATION APPEALS FOR ALTRUISTIC REASONS

(in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	10	4	13	9
N	20	28	16	23

Table 16

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED MALES REPORTING THAT AN ASPECT OF WORK PROCESS PROPER OF IDEAL OCCUPATION APPEALS TO THEM

(in per cent)

	Unchurched		Churched	
	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	40	59	56	74
N	20	27	16	23

attend church regularly mention such an appeal, whereas only half the nonchurchgoing boys do so. This relationship is independent of socioeconomic status, though low-status boys are more likely than high-status boys to mention this kind of appeal. Once again, however, this pattern is not found among the girls.

We are forced to the tentative conclusion that if church participation has any effect at all on the occupations young people choose and on the aspects of these occupations they find attractive, this effect is different for boys than for girls. With the exception of the finding shown in Table 16, churchgoing among males does not seem to be related to occupational preference or the appeal of the ideal occupation. Among girls, however, churchgoing is related rather clearly to a tendency to prefer service occupations, and to prefer them for reasons that are broadly humanitarian. In short, the norms of religious communities on these matters may well be sex-specific. At the risk of over-simplification we may sum up the probable content of these norms in the form of two injunctions. The boys' injunction seems to be: "Choose any occupation you wish, but be sure the work itself appeals to you." The girls' injunction seems to be: "Choose an occupation in which you can be of substantial service to individuals."

So far our data have suggested a sex-specific association of religious participation both in the occupations preferred and motivations given for preferring them. However, we found three patterns related to religion but unrelated to sex; all three showed those attending church to have more definite occupational plans than those who do not. The data are not entirely unequivocal in this matter, but the general pattern seems distinct enough to warrant reporting as an encouragement to further research. In the first place, churchgoing appears to be related among both boys and girls to the tendency to report that an occupational decision has already been made. This finding is shown in Table 17. Frequent church attenders are more likely than the unchurched to report that they have actually made up their minds what occupation they will go into. There is a weak reversal of this pattern among high-status girls, but the other comparisons reveal rather marked differences. This suggests that church participation among these young people may create or reinforce a sense of the urgency of making an early choice of career. In the second place, Table 18 shows that churchgoers are also more likely to name the same specific occupation (e.g., social worker, X-ray technician, etc.) in response to each of the three questions concerning occupational preference. This means that they are more likely than the unchurched to report that they actually expect to enter the occupation they had previously named as their ideal job. Whether this convergence between ideal and expected occupation reflects a strong achievement motivation, a modest level of aspiration, or some other factor cannot be determined by our data, but the fact of convergence suggests that the churchgoers are happier about their occupational prospects than are the unchurched. To summarize, churchgoers are not only surer about their occupational futures than nonchurchgoers, their expected occupations are also more likely to be the occupations they really want to go into.

Finally, our data also show very clearly that our churchgoing subjects are more likely than our nonchurchgoers to report that they plan to attend college.[16] Among both boys and girls and among both working-class and middle-class respondents, frequent church attenders are more likely than the unchurched to indicate they actually intend to enroll in some institution of higher learning following their

Table 17

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED WHO HAVE DECIDED ON THE OCCUPATION THEY WILL ENTER (in per cent)

	Unchurched				Churched			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	high status	low status	high status	low status	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	20	52	65	43	43	63	60	58
N	15	25	17	21	14	19	30	31

Table 18

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED GIVING THE SAME OCCUPATION TO ALL THREE OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE QUESTIONS (in per cent)

	Unchurched				Churched			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	high status	low status	high status	low status	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	40	36	53	40	43	63	68	52
N	15	25	15	15	14	19	25	23

graduation from high school. This finding is shown in Table 19. Most of our respondents aspire to skilled nonmanual positions, but the regular churchgoers are more likely than the unchurched to plan to take the training necessary to qualify for such positions.

Conclusion

Before attempting to pull our findings together it will be well to sound a note of caution regarding their interpretation. To begin with, it must be kept in mind that in a strict sense our findings can only be generalized to a very restricted population, viz., the senior class of a single public high school in a metropolitan center in the Pacific Northwest. Moreover, these findings were not predicted in advance. It is gratifying that our data can be shown to contain patterns we might reasonably suppose to exist in the American high school populaltion at large. But reasonable or plausible propositions are not necessarily empirically valid ones. The history of science is strewn with the wreckage of plausible theories. Only replication will determine whether this order can also be found in the world outside our particular school district.

In the second place, it is premature to abandon the proposition that religious groups differ among themselves in ways that bear on occupational orientation. For one thing, we have not exhausted the questions that might be asked of teenagers concerning their occupational futures. For another, we have not sampled all religious groups. For example, we have excluded Jews because only a bare handful turned up in our sample. Most studies show, however, that the Jewish subculture is distinct from other religiously defined subcultures in ways that do relate to occupational attitudes and behavior.

These warnings must not be forgotten, but they need not prevent

Table 19

CHURCHED AND UNCHURCHED PLANNING TO ENROLL IN COLLEGE (in per cent)

	Unchurched				Churched			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	high status	low status	high status	low status	high status	low status	high status	low status
per cent	68	65	71	47	100	92	90	69
N	22	26	17	17	14	24	30	29

us from using our findings as a point of departure in a search for a more general understanding of that part of the ethos of contemporary religious organization that pertains to occupational orientations. This search necessarily involves speculation, but informed speculation is a vital part of theory construction.

Let us assume for the moment that our findings are broadly generalizable and that the Christian churches of America do exert broadly similar influences on the way teenagers orient themselves to their occupational futures. How can we characterize this influence in such a way as to suggest further testable hypotheses concerning the behavioral and attitudinal correlates of church participation among young people?

In the first place, our findings provide a hint that we have uncovered at least two distinct orientations toward occupational involvement that may be a part of contemporary religious culture. One of these orientations has a traditional Christian flavor, whereas the other is more difficult to derive from the official teachings of the churches. The first of these orientations is a fairly specific one that defines a rather narrow field of legitimate occupations for women and a rationale, or set of approved motivations, for entering them. These occupations involve offering face-to-face services to people. The reationale for entering them reflects the historic Christian value of selfless dedication to the welfare of others. The fact that this pattern is observed among women but not among men strongly suggests that the churches are still carriers of traditional norms concerning the division of labor and of interests between the sexes. If this is the case, then future research should turn up further examples of sex-role traditionalism among active churchgoers.

The second orientation is, in our estimation, the more intriguing one. It is a more general orientation and it seems to apply to both sexes. It consists of norms governing the manner in which young people are to relate to their occupational futures and perhaps to other aspects of their environment as well. Graphically put, these norms attempt to fashion adolescent attitudes and behavior to conform to a model deemed desirable by what may be broadly termed the world of adult authority. The responses of many of our churchgoing subjects suggest that these young people are living examples of how most teachers, counselors, and parents wish adolescents would think and act. Our respondents are, after all, not floundering or wasting time making up their minds on a career, they have chosen work that genuinely appeals to them, and they are taking steps to secure the training necessary to do this work successfully. If churchgoing youth conform to adult versions of how adolescents ought to behave in matters pertaining to their future careers, it is reasonable to guess that they conform to adult standards in other areas as well. We may hypothesize that compared to the unchurched, churchgoing young people are more respectful of adult authority, less susceptible to the appeals of the various "deviant" youth cultures that greatly trouble so many adults, and more inclined to blame themselves than "the system" for the frustrations they experience.

If this is the case--and we have only mentioned a few of the hypotheses that follow from this interpretation--then we will have to regard the church, together with the school and the high- and middle-status family, as a major agency for the formation of personality in accordance with the dominant standards of the adult world.

In short, our exploratory study suggests that religion does make a difference in how young people orient themselves to their occupational futures. The difference it seems to make is not startling once pointed out, but sociologists have not thought to look for it because they have been preoccupied with other theoretical perspectives that have neither borne much fruit nor been creatively modified in the light of hard facts. Our own perspective has been developed from limited and localized data. But it is a plausible perspective and it opens up new possibilities for building and testing theory not only about the occupational orientations of churchgoing adolescents but about other orientations of churchgoers as well.

FOOTNOTES

[1] On this point see Benton Johnson et. al., Religion and Occupational Behavior: An Annotated Bibliography. Eugene: Center for Research in Occupational Planning, University of Oregon, 1966. Available on request.

[2] Following the usage of Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber, these are the branches making up the Calvinist, the Pietist and the Revivalist traditions.

[3] Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension, Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965, pp. 86-122.

[4] The wording of this question was, "What appeals to you about this work?"

[5] "Churched" here means those attending churches that are Roman Catholic, Lutheran, liberal, or conservative. Those attending other religious groups included in the "other" classification are excluded.

[6] The percentages nonmanual are: Liberal Protestant 62%, Roman Catholic 52%, unchurched 44%, Lutheran 38%, Conservative Protestant 36%.

[7] One should not jump to the conclusion, however, that there are no differences at all among religious bodies in occupational orientation. See the concluding section of this paper for a discussion of the implication of this finding.

[8] The open-ended occupational question was "If you could be anything you wanted to be, what kind of work would you really like to do?"

[9] This category is labeled "other personal service" in the occupational code (see Figure 1).

[10] This occupational question, also open-ended, was "What kinds of work have you actually been thinking about going into? Be as specific as you can."

[11] Table 6 is the result of three questions. First all respondents were asked, "Have you actually made up your mind what kind of work you'll do when you finish school?" This question was closed-ended and they could answer either "yes" or "no". If they answered "yes", the respondents were asked to answer this open-ended question: "What have you decided to do? Be specific." If the respondents answered "no" they were asked to answer this open-ended question: "If you had to take a guess, what kind of work do you think you'll go into when you finish your education?" The occupational code described above was applied to both open-ended questions and the answers to the two open-ended questions were combined to make Table 6.

[12] See footnote 8.

[13] See footnote 10.

[14] See footnote 11 which applies here except that "Table 9" should replace "Table 6".

[15] It should also be reported that boys who go to church frequently are somewhat more likely than boys who do not go to church at all to report that their ideal occupation appeals to them for the money, prestige, or fame it will bring. It is not clear how this finding should be interpreted, especially since it is the reverse of the pattern

found among the girls. Our data also reveal that boys and girls are equally likely to mention an incidental aspect of the work process that does not involve people. Church participation is not related to the tendency to mention such an appeal among either the boys or the girls.

[16] The question asked the respondents was, "Do you think you actually will go to college?" This question was closed-ended and offered these possibilities: a) "yes, very sure I will;" b) "yes, pretty sure I will;" c) "no, pretty sure I won't;" d) "no, very sure I won't;" and e) "I don't know." If the first two responses (those beginning with "yes, . . .") were given, the person was counted as planning to go to college.

DO BOYS ATTEND BETTER COLLEGES THAN GIRLS?

by

Benton Johnson Bryce Johnson

The aspiration of high school students to attend colleges and universities is becoming a popular field of study in the social sciences. In the last ten years a great deal of survey data has been collected on the subject. (3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 28, 29, 30) More recently, a number of theoretical articles have been written which explore and try to explain the patterns which have emerged. (23, 26, 27)

There is an almost unlimited number of institutions of higher education available to graduating high school students who wish to continue their education. American values give strong support to education and even a student with low grades and limited financial resources can usually find some school which will admit him.

A number of writers have suggested that college choice is seldom the rational process it is popularly depicted to be. Apart from college size, selectivity and affiliation, many less rational factors appear to be important. For example, particularistic influences such as family and friends' college preferences may be a partial determinant of college choice. Much of the recent research in this area is aimed at exploring these factors.

Studies of aspiration to college have consistently yielded a number of relationships. Some of the more important findings have been that upper-class students are much more likely to aspire to college than lower-class students, and that students with a high grade point average are generally two to three times as likely to plan to go to college as students with a very low grade point average. Most studies show, in addition, that boys are more likely to go to college than girls. (3, 10, 16, 21, 22, 23)

The variable of sex has been studied in some more subtle ways. Wewell found that the neighborhood of the student may be of some influence in the aspiration of girls, but not of boys. (26) Haller found that sex is important in rural-urban differences in college aspiration. (27) Holland found that sex is a partial predictor of the distance from home that a student would like to go to college. (13) Aside from these scattered findings, boy-girl differences in college attendance plans are one of the less explored subjects in the educational aspiration literature. These differences are frequently mentioned, but they are seldom analyzed.

We shall take as our point of departure the generally accepted finding that boys are more likely to go to college than girls. It is our contention that this is not the only advantage boys enjoy over girls in access to higher educational opportunities. We contend that among those students who do plan to go to college, boys will expect to attend institutions of higher academic quality than girls.

The basis for this contention consists in several observations about contemporary American society. To begin with, higher education is no longer chiefly a means by which grace and high culture are imparted to those whose occupational futures are already guaranteed. It is increasingly the case that a bachelor's degree is a requirement for all but the most risky or low-level careers. Secondly, although how well a student performs in college affects his employment chances, the reputation of the school he attends affects them too. It is clearly better to take one's degree at Harvard College than to take it from East Carolina College. In the third place, even though an increasing proportion of both men and women are attending college, and a high proportion of adult women are gainfully employed, it is still true that the male is the chief breadwinner and status earner in the family. Moreover, very few women choose to give up marriage in order to pursue an independent career. Fourthly, higher education imposes a financial burden on students, their families, and others who provide assistance. And finally, colleges of higher academic quality tend to cost more money than colleges of lower academic quality.

If these considerations actually affect who go to college and where they go, then it becomes clear why boys are more likely to attend college than girls. A good quality higher education is an important, but somewhat scarce prerequisite for obtaining a rewarding career in society, and boys are more highly encouraged to obtain this goal than girls. We may hypothesize that among those students who do enroll, boys tend to go to better colleges than girls. We shall present data that support this hypothesis and we shall point out several intriguing implications which our findings contain.

The data to test this hypothesis was collected last year by means of a paper-and-pencil questionnaire administered to a sample of seniors at a large predominantly white, working-class, public high school in Portland, Oregon. The students were chosen from the total senior class by use of a place selection from official school lists. The questionnaire was administered shortly before the end of the school year. Two hundred and fifty-seven of the 295 completed questionnaires in usable form. This was 87% of the sample.

- Procedure -

The analysis in this paper is confined to four variables. Sex and college rank are the primary variables. In addiation, grade point average and social class were included because of their possible importance in modifying the main relationship. Sex and grade point average presented no problem of operationalism. Students were classified as working class or middle class on the basis of their father's occupation.

A test of our hypothesis required a ranking procedure to rate some schools as better than others. A number of researchers feel that there must be something which can be ranked or rated which might reflect the criteria a graduating high school senior applies to prospective colleges. Some of these classifications have been in the form of simple nominal systems using such criteria as college size, location and affiliation. (16, 22, 28) While this sort of tool is quite helpful in qualitative work, it precludes any research which is interested in levels of aspiration, unless college choice is only one step in a larger aspirational plan ranging from junior high school to graduate work.

Other classifications have been used which rank the schools on a single or multi-dimensional continuum. These college ranking devices have been used in the past only with samples of students of high scholastic ability, and they have never been used in conjunction with the sex of the student. (13)

A recent attempt at college and university ranking appears in Astin's book, Who Goes Where to College? Astin compiled a set of estimate scores on a number of qualities for all the accredited colleges and universities in the United States. (2) While his book was written primarily as an aid to students and counselors involved in college selection, it is useful to researchers interested in an objective base for placing schools on a continuum. Because Astin includes only accredited colleges and universities in his analysis, additional decisions must be made in the placement of the remaining schools mentioned by the high school students as possible choices.

We felt justified in placing all the nonaccredited schools below the level of the lowest-ranking institution on Astin's list. The unaccredited schools named by our respondents were, for the most part, business colleges, beauty colleges, bible colleges, four-year church-related liberal arts colleges, and two-year community and junior colleges. We did not undertake to rank any of the schools within the unaccredited category. In the interest of simplicity, the entire group of schools was divided into two groups which we shall refer to as high- and low-ranking colleges. The breaking point fell near the low end of the scale of accredited schools. Among the high-ranking schools most frequently named by our respondents were Portland State College, Oregon State University, and the University of Oregon. Our hypothesis predicts that the male high school seniors in our sample will be more likely than the female seniors to plan to enroll in one of the high-ranking colleges.

- Findings -

Because our data come from a single high school our findings cannot be said to represent the American high school population at large. Nevertheless, it can be shown that our sample exhibits characteristics which other studies have shown to be common to high school students in general. Studies have generally revealed, for example, that students who come from working-class homes tend to make lower grades in high school than do students who come from middle-class homes. Table 1 shows that this finding holds true of our high school seniors. When students are classified according to the occupational status of their fathers, and their reported high school GPA's are broken down into high, medium, and low categories, our data reveal that class is strongly related to academic performance. For example, 40 per cent of working-class students, but only

24 per cent of middle-class students have low GPA's. On the other hand, 26 per cent of the middle-class students, but only 10 per cent of working-class students have high GPA's.

Studies have also shown that boys are generally less likely than girls to earn high grades in high school. Table 2 shows that this holds true of our high school seniors. Twenty per cent of the female students but only 11 per cent of the male students report high GPA's. On the other hand, 28 per cent of the girls but fully 41 per cent of the boys report low GPA's. It is also generally established that school performance and class status are independently related to students' plans for attending college. Table 3 shows the relationship between GPA and our students' college plans, with fathers' occupational status held constant. The table makes it clear that both class and GPA are strongly and independently related to the decision to attend college. For example, among students in the lowest category of academic performance, 68 per cent of those from middle-class homes plan to go to college, but only 39 per cent of those from working-class homes plan to do so. Class does not make so much difference among students in the middle and top categories of academic performance, but the difference it does make is in the expected direction. Similarly, among both working- and middle-class students, GPA is directly related to college plans. One hundred per cent of the middle-class students of the highest GPA category report that they plan to go to college, but only 68 per cent of the middle-class students of the lowest GPA category do so. The same pattern holds true for working-class students.

Finally, as we reported earlier, studies have also shown that boys are more likely than girls to continue their education beyond high school. Table 4 shows that this is the case among our high school seniors. Seventy-four per cent of the boys but only 67 per cent of the girls report that they plan to attend a college of some kind after graduating from high school. These findings do not permit us to conclude that our data are representative of American high school students in general, but they do permit us to say that our high school seniors are not grossly atypical.

We are now ready to ask whether the data support our hypothesis that boys plan to go to higher-ranking colleges than girls. In all the tables that follow, those who do not plan to go on beyond high school or who are uncertain about their college plans, have been excluded from analysis. Our hypothesis does not apply to them. In determining the college aspirations of those who plan to continue their schooling, we have relied on responses to a question asking for the name of the school the respondent actually plans to attend.

Table 5 presents the relationship between sex and rank of the college our high school seniors report they will attend. The table shows that male students are indeed more likely than female students to plan to attend high-ranking schools. Sixty-five per cent of the boys but only 59 per cent of the girls expect to go to a school of high rank. This is not a very large percentage difference, but it is in the predicted direction. Socioeconomic status is, as we have seen, strongly related to whether a student plans to go to college at all. Since the cost of a college has some relationship to its quality, there is good reason to believe that socioeconomic status may affect which colleges high school students plan to attend. Table 6 presents the relationship between sex and college rank with fathers' occupational status controlled. Class does seem to make a difference. Among boys, for example, 72 per cent whose fathers hold white-collar jobs plan to attend high-ranking colleges, but only 60 per cent of those whose fathers have blue-collar jobs do so. The same pattern holds true for girls. Controlling for class does not diminish the effect of sex in the slightest, however. Regardless of fathers' occupational status, girls are less likely than boys to plan to attend high-ranking colleges and universities.

There is also good reason to suspect that high school academic performance is related to the rank of the college that students plan to attend. Not only do the better schools cost more money, they demand a higher level of academic performance than the less prestigious schools. Table 7 presents the relationship between sex and college rank with high school GPA controlled. The table shows that there is a marked relationship between GPA and college rank. GPA seems to exert a more important influence than socioeconomic status on the quality of college our students expect to attend. For example, only a seventh of the low GPA girls report that they plan to attend a high-ranking school, but over four-fifths of the high GPA girls do so. All the high GPA boys will enroll in high-ranking institutions, but only a third of the low GPA boys will do so. But even so, GPA does not modify the effect of sex on college choice. Among students of similar GPA level, boys remain more likely than girls to plan to attend high-ranking colleges. Thirty-three per cent of low GPA boys but only 14 per cent of low GPA girls will attend colleges of high rank. Similarly, 100 per cent of high GPA boys, but only 83 per cent of high GPA girls will do so.

Table 8 presents the relationship between sex and college choice with both GPA and fathers' occupational status controlled. Although the number of cases in some of the columns in this table is quite small, in fact below the commonly accepted minimum for computing percentages, the pattern of relationships among our variables is remarkably uniform. With only a very few exceptions, both GPA and fathers' occupational status are directly and independently related to the rank of the college the students expect to attend. But more important, sex continues to affect college choice independently of these other two variables. In five of the six possible comparisons boys are more likely than girls to plan to attend high-ranking schools. The only exception is among working-class students who have high GPA's. One hundred per cent of both the boys and the girls in this category plan to enroll in high-ranking colleges.

- Some Implications -

Our high school data have given strong support to the hypothesis that boys plan to attend better colleges and universities than girls. Even when high school performance and fathers' occupational class are controlled, sex continues to make a difference. The fact that this is true of the students of a single metropolitan high school does not, of course, mean that it is true of college-bound students at large. But several facts strenthen our hunch that we are not dealing with an isolated phenomenon. First, our high school seems typical in many important respects that bear on the students' educational attainments and aspirations. Second, our hypothesis is theoretically compatible with the generally accepted finding that boys stand a better chance than girls of going to college at all.

Studies of where high school seniors plan to go to college are not the only way our hypothesis may be tested. An alternative way is to examine the enrollment patterns of colleges and universities. If boys enjoy an advantage over girls in access to superior educational opportunities, and if class background and high school grades are also related to the kind of college students go to, then these facts will be reflected in the characteristics of freshman classes in college. In the first place, if our hypothesis is correct then the sex ratio of freshman classes will vary directly with the academic quality of coeducational colleges. Specifically, the higher the quality of a college, the higher will be the proportion of its freshmen who are males. Our hypothesis also yields the prediction that at any coeducational college regardless of its academic quality the proportion of freshman students who are males will be higher among those of low status background and among those whose high school grades were poor than among those of high status background and among those whose high school grades were good. These predictions can be readily understood when it is borne in mind that if our hypothesis is correct, boys and girls of similar class background and high school achievement will not tend to enroll in colleges of similar academic quality. There will be a tendency for the boys to enroll in colleges that rank higher than those in which the girls enroll. Therefore, any given college will receive a higher proportion of high-status, high-achieving females than of high-status, high-achieving males. The high-status, high-achieving males whom the college in question was not able to enroll will enroll in colleges that rank higher in academic quality.

Professor Robert A. Ellis has been good enough to make available his data from a representative sample of 385 members of the 1961 freshman class of the University of Oregon. These data permit us to make an additional test of our hypothesis. Table 9 shows the proportion of working-class and middle-class Oregon freshmen who are male and female, with high school GPA controlled. The data strongly support our hypothesis. Among both middle- and working-class students, boys are proportionately more numerous in the lower GPA categories than they are in the higher GPA categories. For example, among middle-class students, only 25 per cent of those with high GPA's are boys, but fully 70 per cent of those with low GPA's are boys. Moreover, in each GPA category where comparisons are possible, the proportion of working-class students who are boys is higher than the proportion of middle-class students who are boys. Among those with medium GPA's, for example, 62 per cent of working-class students but only 46 per cent of middle-class students are males.

If these examples represent a general pattern in American higher education, and particularly if they hold true for upperclassmen as well as for freshmen, then new light may be thrown on patterns of courtship and choice of marriage partners among college students. Assuming for the moment that courtship is confined to people who are homogeneous with regard to status and GPA level, we may make some observations about the relative advantages of boys and girls within each of the six columns of table 9. Starting at the extreme left, boys are clearly at a courtship advantage over girls, since they are outnumbered by girls three to one. Girls, by the same token, are at a serious disadvantage. The sexes are almost evenly matched in the column to the immediate right, but in the column to the right of that one, boys outnumber girls by more than two to one. The girls, therefore, enjoy a strong advantage. Moving to the working-class category, the sexes are almost evenly matched among those with high GPA, but the boys far outnumber girls in the remaining GPA categories.

The particular sex ratios reported in table 9 will not, of course, hold for all institutions of higher learning which admit both men and women. In some schools, for example, girls of all categories have a courtship advantage over boys because the student body is disproportionately male. But if our hypothesis is correct, the relative advantages of boys and girls among the various categories of table 9 will hold true for all coeducational colleges. Specifically, girls of high status and high academic ability should have a harder time finding boys of similar characteristics on campus than should girls of lower status and ability. By the same token, boys of high status and ability should have an easier time finding girls who are like themselves than should boys of low status and ability. This discussion of unequal courtship groups is augmented by an article by John Finley Scott. ("The American College Sorority: Its Role in Class and Ethnic Endogamy," American Sociological Review, 30 (August, 1965), pp. 514-527). His argument is that upward mobility is regarded as desirable in our society and that both men and women are socialized to appreciate it. Upward mobility through marriage is easier, however, than mobility through work. Thus, sororities encourage upward mobility through careful exposure to and selection of marriage partners. A problem arises in that marriage involves some element of exchange whereby a woman of high social status is without a bargaining position. It is difficult for her to find a marriage partner of higher social status than her own, and yet she is socialized in the style of life which would make marrying down a frustrating experience. Scott calls this phenomenon the Brahmin problem. We might suggest that much the same problem arises for the low status male who is almost certainly faced with the problem of marrying up. He is in a better bargaining position, however, because he can work up in social class through his occupation.

If this is the case, then it is very likely that the courtship strategies of various categories of college men and women will differ markedly.

To this point we have examined the consequences which might hold if our hypothesis is true. What can we say about the factors that have produced the findings we have reported? The considerations from which our hypothesis is derived should help answer this question, but our study was not designed to assess their effect directly. But our data can help us answer one question. They can help us determine whether the disadvantage girls face is imposed on them by others against their wishes, or whether it reflects their own preferences. Our high school students were not only asked where they planned to go to college, they were also asked what college they would most like to attend. Now if sex differences diminish or disappear when responses to this latter question are examined, we will know that girls' college aspirations are fully as high as boys', and we will have grounds for suspecting that sex differences in college plans reflect the fact that girls are under special pressure to scale down their hopes. If, on the other hand, sex differences are not diminished, we will have reason to suspect that sex differences in college plans tend to reflect the wishes of the students themselves.

Table 10 presents the responses of the students to the two college choice items. The top row presents the percentage of male and female students, with GPA controlled, that reported they would like to go to a high-ranking college. The bottom row presents the percentage that reported they actually plan to attend a high-ranking college. The table shows that a higher proportion of most categories of students of both sexes would like to go to high-ranking schools than actually plan to attend. On balance, both sexes tend to settle for a lower-ranking school than they would actually prefer. But the table also makes it clear that sex differences in college wishes are fully as marked as they are in college plans. In fact they are more marked on the college wish item than they are on the college plan item in the low GPA category. Among these students the boys are almost three times as likely as the girls to wish to go to a high-ranking school, but only about twice as likely to actually plan to attend such a school. In short, girls' college wishes are, in general, more modest than boys' wishes. The data give us no groundss for arguing that sex differences in college plans are due to the fact that girls are constrained by adults to go to colleges ranking lower than the colleges they really prefer. Adult values are no doubt reflected in the pattern of sex differences we have observed, but they are also the values of most of the students themselves.

- Conclusion -

Despite the breakdown of many older restrictions on the activities of women, sex remains a basis for the allocation of many roles in contemporary society. Sociologists know this, but it has not inspired much theoretical interest. Indeed, one sometimes feels that many sociologists regard sex role differences the same way they regard religion: neither of them are very important, they are mainly to be deplored, and if ignored they may go away. But it is our guess that sex is a far more widespread basis for role allocation than many sociologists suspect. Even in equalitarian America, we believe, sex really does make a difference.

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TABLES

TABLE 1: HIGH SCHOOL SAMPLE BY SOCIAL CLASS AND GPA
(Reported in Percentages)

	Middle Class (N=86)	Working Class (N=148)
Low GPA	24	40
Medium GPA	50	50
High GPA	26	10

TABLE 2: HIGH SCHOOL SAMPLE BY SEX AND GPA
(Reported in Percentages)

	Boys (N=113)	Girls (N=121)
Low GPA	41	28
Medium GPA	48	52
High GPA	11	20

TABLE 3: STUDENTS PLANNING TO ATTEND COLLEGE BY SOCIAL CLASS AND GPA (Reported in Percentages)

	Middle Class	Working Class
Low GPA (N)	68 (19)	39 (56)
Medium GPA (N)	87 (38)	74 (69)
High GPA (N)	100 (20)	93 (15)

TABLE 4: STUDENTS PLANNING TO ATTEND COLLEGE BY SEX (Reported in Percentages)

	Boys (N=104)	Girls (N=113)
Will Go	74	67
Will Not Go	26	33

TABLE 5: RANK OF COLLEGE STUDENTS PLAN TO ATTEND BY SEX (Reported in Percentages)

	Boys (N=77)	Girls (N=76)
High-ranking College	65	59
Low-ranking College	35	41

TABLE 6: STUDENTS PLANNING TO ATTEND HIGH=RANKING COLLEGE BY SEX AND SOCIAL CLASS (Reported in Percentages)

	Boys	Girls
Middle Class	72	65
(N)	(29)	(37)
Working Class	60	54
(N)	(48)	(39)

TABLE 7: STUDENTS PLANNING TO ATTEND A HIGH-RANKING COLLEGE BY SEX AND GPA
(Reported in Percentages)

	Boys	Girls
Low GPA	33	14
(N)	(21)	(14)
Medium GPA	71	62
(N)	(45)	(39)
High GPA	100	83
(N)	(11)	(23)

TABLE 8: STUDENTS PLANNING TO ATTEND A HIGH-RANKING COLLEGE BY SEX, GPA AND SOCIAL CLASS
(Reported in Percentages)

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Low GPA	44	00	25	20
(N)	(09)	(04)	(12)	(10)
Medium GPA	81	71	65	55
(N)	(16)	(17)	(29)	(22)
High GPA	100	75	100	100
(N)	(04)	(16)	(07)	(07)

TABLE 9: UNIVERSITY OF OREGON FRESHMAN CLASS SAMPLE BY SEX, GPA AND SOCIAL CLASS, 1961*
(Reported in Percentages)

	Middle Class			Working Class		
	High GPA (N=64)	Medium GPA (N=214)	Low GPA (N=40)	High GPA (N=20)	Medium GPA (N=42)	Low GPA (N=5)
Males	25	46	70	45	62	80
Females	75	54	30	55	38	20

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*This data was supplied by Professor Robert A. Ellis, University of Oregon.

TABLE 10: HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' WISHES AND PLANS TO ATTEND A HIGH-RANKING COLLEGE BY SEX AND GPA
(Reported in Percentages)

	Low GPA		Medium GPA		High GPA	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Want to Go to a Good School	59	21	80	65	100	82
(N)	(22)	(14)	(45)	(40)	(11)	(22)
Plan to Go to a Good School	33	14	71	62	100	83
(N)	(21)	(14)	(45)	(39)	(11)	(23)

PLANNED AND UNPLANNED ASPECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES BY YOUTH: FAMILY AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

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Roy H. Rodgers
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The University of Oregon

Eugene, Oregon

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FAMILY AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Theoretical Orientation.

Studies of occupational choice have taken a variety of approaches. It is relatively consistent, however, for such studies to indicate at some point the important influence which the family has on commitment to an occupation. At the same time, few studies have been carried out--either by those interested in the subject of occupations or those concerned with the study of the family--which have explored in any depth the processes within the family which lead to a particular occupational outcome. While many studies cite family related variables in an attempt to indicate the family's influence on occupational outcome, these rarely include data on internal family dynamics (9).

A second factor in the study of occupations is the major emphasis which has been placed on the developmental character of occupational outcome. Beginning with the work of Ginzberg and continuing in the writing of Roe, Super, and others, this aspect has become a major focus of much of the work attempted in the area (6,16,20,2).

Quite independently of the developmental theorists in occupational research, a relatively small group of family theorists have worked for a number of years on a developmental conceptual approach to an understanding of the family (7). This approach and that taken by the occupational theorists have much in common. It seemed, therefore, appropriate to conduct an exploratory study in which these divergent, yet complementary, streams of interest could be combined. The essential focus of the exploratory study was to gain some information on the developmental aspects of occupational choice in the family setting.

A major paper has been written setting forth in detail the theoretical approach which was developed as a basis for the empirical work (13). It will only be summarized here in order to provide a basis for understanding the design of the study reported. Briefly, the approach takes the position that the occupational role develops from latency to manifestness within the family as a result of the selective injection of "inputs" at various stages in the career of the child. These inputs are one portion of the total socialization experience of the child within the family. It is recognized that other socialization experiences occur outside the family--in the peer group, the school, and other community settings--but these are of concern only as they enter into the socialization carried on within the family.

The inputs, then, were divided into two categories, family inputs and societal inputs. The family inputs included the following: type of family (nuclear, modified extended, or extended); power structure; division of labor; composition; ordinal position of subject; emotional conditions; cliques; orientations (traditions, beliefs, goals, intellectual, aesthetic, work-recreation, responsibility, excellence, towards extra family actors, towards extra family organizations, etc.); facilitating mechanisms (equipment, literature, and the like); work setting of the husband-father; and employment of the wife-mother. The societal inputs were: peer group; school; family associates; voluntary organizations; work experience; relative socioeconomic status; community facilities; community characteristics (industrial, residential, business, etc.); work opportunities; ethnic group membership; and rural-urban-suburban setting. It was recognized that there were other possible inputs that might be identified. However, it was decided that these were probably most relevant to occupational socialization as it occurred within the family. It must be recalled that the significance of the societal inputs has to do with the manner in which the family uses the experiences of the subject with respect to these inputs in the socialization in the family. Thus, the interest would not be in determining what the school did with respect to socializing the child toward occupations. Rather, it would be with how the family utilized school experiences to socialize the child. Thus, if parents emphasized that their child should join a particular extra-curricular activity at the school or should take a particular course because it would be good job preparation, this would be of interest. The extra-curricular activity or course per se would not be relevant to the focus of the study otherwise.

Having identified the inputs which were of interest, the second issue of concern had to do with the developmental aspect of the socialization process. The major interest here centered around some attempts at determining when certain inputs might be most crucial to the development of the occupational role. In addition, the degree to which the injection of a given input or failure to inject the input affected potential occupational role outcomes was also of interest. Thus, for example, the early injection in the socialization process of goals and values with respect to a career as a professional pianist, along with the provision of the facilitating mechanisms of a piano in the home and private lessons, would appear quite crucial to the achievement of that occupation. Waiting until late in childhood or adolescence to provide one or more of the inputs would undoubtedly reduce the probabilities of such an outcome. On the other hand, there are other occupational outcomes for which such early inputs seem less crucial.

Finally, it should be indicated that these inputs are seen in the theoretical approach taken as providing the basis for the accumulation of a normative structure which eventually defines for the individual a given occupational role. That is, the interest lies in the effect which these various socialization experiences, characterized here as "inputs", have in establishing certain role prescriptions and prohibitions which lead a person towards a particular adult role. This emphasis is of considerable importance, since it makes the major focus of the research more sociological than psychological in nature by emphasizing the group experiences of the individual and deemphasizing the individual differences in psychological make-up (talent, intelligence, motivation, etc.).

With this brief summary of the basic theoretical orientation taken, attention may now be turned to the design for a study which would constitute a test of the approach. There will be two parts to this discussion. First, a design will be discussed which is considered to constitute an adequate test of the ideas presented in the theoretical approach. Second, the design of the exploratory study reported here will be discussed. It will be possible, therefore, to indicate the manner in which the exploratory study lays the groundwork for the more elaborate study and the ways in which it is inadequate to fully understand the phenomenon of work role development in the family. Since an adequate test of occupational role development would involve a longitudinal research design, while the exploratory study was necessarily cross-sectional, the major study will be referred to as the "Longitudinal Study."

B. The Longitudinal Study Design.

The objective in this section will not be to outline in detail the design of the longitudinal study. Rather, the basic characteristics of such a study will be presented in order that the accomplishments and limitations of the exploratory study may be more clearly understood.

There are three key factors which must be taken into account in designing a study to test the theoretical interests outlined above: (1) there must be some way of investigating the socialization process within the family setting; (2) some method must be accomplished of dealing with the developmental aspect of roles; and (3) an adequate treatment must be attained of the various aspects of the socialization process which have relevance to the occupational role specifically.

Research to date has been singularly unsuccessful in accumulating an adequate body of data with respect to the internal interactional processes of families. The intimate nature of family relationships expressed in the relatively closed nature of the nuclear family, has provided a major blockade to data-gathering in the family. While the more formal socialization process which occurs in the school is readily investigated by observation, there have been few studies which were based on the observation of family socialization processes. Sewell has presented an excellent summary and critique of the work in the area of socialization which shows clearly how inadequate our data are in this area (18). A companion article, which illustrates a major inadequacy in much of what we do have, is an analysis of children's social perceptions by Robert and Elisabeth Dubin (3). These authors point to the fact that most of the data on child-training is based upon data gathered from parents either by questionnaire, interview, or observation. However, the assumption is made that the parental interpretation of the meaning of their actions is that which is perceived by children. Little data exists on what the actual perception of the child is concerning the meaning of parental behavior in the socialization process.

This leads then to two basic factors in the longitudinal design. First, adequate measuring instruments for internal family dynamics must be developed. Some of these are already available, while others may have to be developed. Secondly, data must be gathered from more than one member of the family. Probably, it would be a reasonable compromise to gather data from both parents and from the subject child in the family. This means that data from other family members, particularly siblings, is missed. However, the major socializing agents are probably the parents. Thus, if both parents provide data on what their socialization methods and goals are and the object of the socialization provides data on his experience with the socialization procedures, this data should be more adequate than anything which we presently possess.

In dealing with the second issue, accounting for the developmental aspect of socialization, the major problem revolves around balancing off the needs of a purely longitudinal study with the difficulties provided by such a study. These difficulties are well documented in the literature--sample size attrition, respondent training effects, length of time elapsed before any results can be accomplished, and so on (8). By the same token, the purely cross-sectional study does not provide enough data on the same subjects so as to be able to make the kinds of generalizations desired in this type of study. Ultimately, the solution to this issue involves selecting a research strategy which balances off the gains and losses of various methods in the light of the degree to which previous research has provided a basis for a deeper exploration of the problem and in the light of the resources in terms of financing and personnel which are available.

The third issue, treating the work socialization process, involves operationalizing the various areas of work socialization outlined above in the theoretical orientation in such a manner as to begin to explicate this process. This can probably be done as adequately in cross-sectional research as in longitudinal studies. At least this would be true given the present state of our knowledge concerning socialization processes generally.

C. The Exploratory Study Design.

Three key limitations governed the strategy developed for the exploratory study. First, it was recognized after the compilation of the bibliography cited above (9) that very little work had been done on family socialization with respect to work roles. Secondly, it was recognized that the intrafamily process of socialization in general was one about which relatively little was known. Thirdly, even though a developmental theoretical approach has been relatively well developed, funds for carrying out a longitudinal study which would adequately test this approach were not available.

Therefore, the decision was made to focus the exploratory study on attempts at two major contributions: first, to develop some methods which would allow an exploration of the intrafamily socialization process; secondly, to gather some data on the socialization in families with respect to work roles as indicated by the theoretical approach. The only attention to be paid to the developmental aspects of this process is reflected in the decision to select a population for study which would focus on a critical developmental period in work role socialization.

We turn, then, to a description of the methods developed for carrying out this exploratory study.

II. METHOD

A. Population and Sample.

The population to be sampled and studied was defined as intact families with at least the mother, father, and one child present. The decision to study three members from the same family rather than the more common practice of using a single respondent was made in order to make data available which would lend itself to analysis of the intrafamily socialization processes. Data collected from parents and one child allows direct comparisons on relevant socialization dimensions even though it does not necessarily tap actual family dynamics.

A second decision was to select as the child member of the family a ninth grade boy. This was based upon the fact that the literature on occupational development has viewed the ninth grade boy as at a critical point in his development in terms of the salience of occupational information and orientations.

The sample was drawn randomly from all ninth grade boys in two school districts of a standard metropolitan area who were members of intact families as defined above. A sample size of one hundred families was viewed as adequate for the kind of exploratory work contemplated. By the end of the data gathering phase, complete data were obtained from ninety-one families, with partial data from some but not all members of the other families.

B. Data Gathering.

Two basic instruments were developed. A self-completed questionnaire was developed which included a number of standard questions relating to social class background, age, marital status, occupations, and a set of scales to identify certain structural features of the family. In addition, a semi-structured interview schedule was designed to elicit data concerning values and attitudes on occupations, family life, and life in general, along with methods of transmission of these factors to the child, and respondent evaluations concerning the effects of these methods of transmission.

All respondents were administered the same basic questionnaire and interview schedule independently of one another. The boys were all interviewed at school during the school day, while parents were contacted at home during the day or in the evening.

C. Data Analysis.

All data from the completed instruments were coded independently by two coders. In cases of disagreements between the coders, these were resolved by the coding supervisor. As would be expected, coding reliability was considerably higher on the closed-end questions in the questionnaire than on the open-ended data in the interviews. Though not formally computed, the overall coding reliability on the questionnaire data was about 99% and on the interview data about 80%.

The findings for this report are basically presentations of frequencies and percentages of responses to the various items. From the inspection of these tabulations, further analytical procedures have been carried out for some unpublished papers (11,14,15). Additional analyses of this type will be carried out in the coming months. Copies of these papers will be furnished to the Office of Education.

III. RESULTS*

A. Characteristics of the Sample.

Appendix Tables One through Seven report data on the basic characteristics of the sample. Table One presents the data on the employment of the husband-father. The greatest share of the fathers were employed full time, in white collar occupations below the executive level in daytime occupations, and were not self-employed. Considerable variation occurred in the level of supervision these respondents occupied, hours worked, days and the like. The overall picture, however, is one of relative regularity and stability of the work situation with relatively few fathers holding second jobs.

Table Two indicates that only about one-third of the wife-mothers were employed. About half of those employed were only part-time workers in non-supervisory clerical positions. The median hours category was from 21-30 hours per week. Typically the mothers worked weekdays only and during the daytime. Over half of the mothers had been employed for less than five years on their present job.

The present employment situation of the ninth graders is reflected in the data of Table Three. Thirty-eight percent of the sons were employed a median of four to seven hours in occupations that were primarily distributive in nature and that occupied them either both mornings and afternoons or in the afternoons only. About an equal number were required to spend some time every day of the week as those whose working days varied from week to week. While forty-five percent of these youngsters did not see themselves as gaining any kind of skill in their present work situation, thirty-six percent saw themselves as gaining primarily social skills only. Minor numbers indicated the gaining of technical skills or combinations of communicative, social, and technical skills.

The educational level of the parents indicated in Table Five show that the median attainment for mothers was completion of high school with 18% possessing less than high school education and 30% having at least some post-high school education. Fathers' educational levels were distributed 24% less than complete high school, 35% high school completion, 16% some college, 12% completion of college, and 11% some work beyond the Bachelor's degree including attainment of Master's and Doctoral degrees.

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*As in all research, data are lost for a variety of reasons. Therefore, in the Appendix tables the numbers of subjects will vary from table to table. We have attempted to include all of the data available in this initial tabulation, rather than to lose data in order to maintain a consistent number of subjects.

Utilizing the Ellis Index of Class Position (4), Table Five indicates that, if fathers' occupations are used to compute the index, 40% are in Class II, 20% in Class III, 12% in Class IV, 10% in Class V, and 2% in Class VI. No Class I families occurred in the sample using this index. The same index computed on the basis of mothers' occupations, recalling that only 32 mothers were employed, indicates that their job statuses were considerably lower than their husbands'.

Two kinds of data on the family situation are included in Tables Six and Seven. The ordinal position of the ninth grade boy is reflected in Table Six and indicates that the greatest share of the subjects were one of the first three children born. While the greatest share were second born, the distribution is probably more due to total size of family than to any selective factor in sampling. Total number of children born to these families distributed as follows: one child families 3%, two child families 19%, three child families 42%, four child families 18%, over four children 17%.

In Table Seven the family life cycle category is indicated by designating the oldest and youngest children present. Using this method, 24% were in the "Launching Category" with at least one child self-supporting but others still present in the home, 4% were in the "Young Adult" category with a child over 20 years of age still present in the home and younger children also present, 12% were in the "Post High School" category with the oldest child out of high school but less than 20 years of age and younger children present, 28% were in the "Adolescent" category with the oldest child in senior high school and younger children present, and finally, 28% were in the "Pre-Adolescent" category with the oldest child the ninth grader and other children present in all but 3% of the cases in which the ninth grader was an only child.

B. Value Orientations.

Three kinds of value data have been gathered: values concerning family life, general life values, and occupational values. Throughout the remainder of the report on findings, data will be reported as gathered from all three respondents. Thus, all tables in the Appendix subsequent to Table Seven have columns or sections reporting responses of "Mom," of "Dad," and of "Son."

Family Values. Table Eight presents data in response to a set of four statements concerning family preferences. These statements were developed by Litwak (12) in order to determine the extent to which respondents were nuclear family oriented as opposed to family oriented. Each statement represents a somewhat broader orientation than the previous one. Thus, in response to the statement, "I like the whole family to spend evenings together," the overwhelming response from all three respondents was agreement or strong agreement. Mothers and fathers recorded only minor disagreement and some indecisions. Sons responded in disagreement even less than either parent, but had considerably more indecision and, thus, were less in agreement overall than either parent. The same general finding is true of the question concerning possessing a house where family members can spend time together, though agreement is stronger with less indecision and disagreement on the parts of all respondents. Indecision rises sharply for all respondents and an increase in disagreement and strong disagreement occurs with the statement, "I want to live where it is easy for relatives to get together." Perhaps the most interesting finding occurs with the responses to the statement, "I want a house where parents can feel free to move in." In this case, parents' responses are quite similar with disagreement and strong disagreement from about 60% of each group. Only between 25% and 30% of the parents agree or strongly agree with this statement. On the other hand, the sons overwhelmingly agree or strongly agree with this statement. On the other hand, the sons overwhelmingly agree or strongly agree with the statement with only 11% disagreeing at any level and 16% undecided.

In Table 16 responses to a series of statements concerning success in marriage and family are reported. These statements were taken from the work of Bernard Farber (5) on marital integration and adapted here for the dual use of determining further value orientations and, in conjunction with responses to some other Farber items, to determine general family integration. Only the value analysis is available at the time this report is being written. (See Part I. of this section on "Results" for a statement on other analyses yet to be completed.) Inspection of Table 16 reveals that the ranking of these items by the three respondents had wide dispersion. Taking each item in turn, however, some general statements can be made by focussing on the rank within which the median case falls. Thus, for the item "A place in the community," the median ranking assigned by parents is a relatively low eighth place and for sons an almost equally low seventh position. "Healthy and happy children" is ranked highest by fathers at second place, next highest by mothers in third place, and at the fourth rank by sons. "Companionship" is found to be ranked at the fourth position by mothers and sons and in fifth place by fathers. "Personality" development falls in fifth position for fathers and mothers and in sixth for sons. "Satisfaction in affection shown," appears least important to mothers who rank it in seventh position, most important for fathers who place it fifth, and sons fall between their parents by ranking it sixth. "Economic security" is most important to sons, least highly ranked by mothers, and has a medium ranking for fathers with the ranks falling sixth, eighth, and seventh respectively. "Emotional security" is about equally evaluated by all at relatively important level of fifth for mothers and fourth for both fathers and sons. The widest divergence occurs between family members on "Moral and religious unity." Parents both rank this quite high at the third level while sons place it relatively low in seventh position. "Everyday interest" is not viewed as very important by any of the respondents with mothers ranking it ninth, fathers and sons placing it eighth. "A home" was again ranked relatively high by all family members with it falling third for mothers and sons and fourth for fathers.

General Life Values. Orville Brim and his collaborators developed a scale of "Epistemological and Instrumental Beliefs" (1) for some of their research in personality and decision-making. We have utilized several of the subscales to produce data on three areas of general life values: fatalism, rationality, and future time orientation-antitraditionalism. These three areas were chosen with a view to determining whether relationships might be shown between the way in which families approached the child's occupational role and a view of the world which was, for example, oriented in a basically fatalistic, non-rational, and present time-traditional manner. Such a family might see little point in trying to plan for a future occupation since there was little that they could see that could be done to manipulate the world in such a way as to achieve their plans. Once again, it has not been possible to complete this type of complex analysis for this report. However, Tables Nine, Ten, and Eleven provide the basic data upon which such an analysis will be based.

With respect to fatalism (Table Nine), it is clear that sons have considerable indecision concerning their values. In six of the twelve items their modal response is the "undecided" category. In the remaining responses there is a mixture of agreement with statements supporting the idea that there is multiple causation and complexity in the world, that there is a deity controlling the world, and some support that science will one day be able to explain and predict events. On the other hand, parents show indecision on only one item each--mothers on the item concerning orderliness in the world and fathers concerning the control of human destiny by a divinity. Otherwise, the parental responses indicate both a view that the world is complex and to some extent controllable, while at the same time seeing a strong place for an identifiable divinity influencing events and rejecting the vague concept of "fate" as in control.

In the area of rationality (Table Ten) considerable indecision remains for sons with the modal category being "undecided" in five of nine of the statements. Three of the statements yield responses which are oriented towards rationality, while at the same time they also tend to agree with the idea of sticking to a single goal. Mothers, while showing indecision in the first three items, also tend to choose responses showing a rational orientation in four other items. However, they tend to choose the more non-rational response in the sticking to a single goal statement and in the statement concerning confusion arising out of thinking about "all that can happen." Fathers' indecision also shows on two of the same items as mothers, "obeying the heart" and "trying to do many things," but they respond indecisively also to the "thinking about all that can happen" item. Their other responses, with the exception of the sticking to a single goal statement, are in the direction of rationality.

Table Eleven shows the responses to six statements, three of which were designed to measure anti-traditionalism and three measuring future time orientation. Indecision continues to be the common response for the sons. In the only two decisive responses, the sons opt for present time orientation. Both parents are also undecided concerning whether or not tradition is a worthwhile thing. They both respond with a present time orientation to the two statements concerning living in the present, but respond negatively to the item concerning taking today's pleasures rather than tomorrow's.

Occupational Values. Morris Rosenberg has developed a widely used scale of occupational values (17). The items in this scale were submitted to the respondents. Instead of having them rank the items, however, they were asked to rate each of them on a four point scale. Table Twelve presents these results. The items are organized according to the "dimensions" which Rosenberg argued existed in the scale. (Others have investigated this aspect of occupational values. Cf. Jacobsen [10] for a review of these attempts and a report of his own work.) The table indicates that mothers appear to have the strongest "people orientation" rating this aspect "high" in both items, while sons and fathers rate one item "medium" and the other "high." In the dimension of "extrinsic rewards" the sons are most interested in this aspect of occupations. Both with respect to money and status, sons are considerably less often found rating these as of no importance or low importance and far more frequently rate them of high importance than do fathers and mothers. Then, while both fathers and mothers rate future security as having somewhat higher importance, the sons demonstrate very strong interest in this by selecting the "high" response 84% of the time and the "medium" response 15% of the time. No sons rated this aspect as of "low" or "no" importance. The instrinsic reward of using "special abilities and aptitutdes" is highly valued by all three respondents. Being "creative and original" appears to be most important in fathers' eyes, next most important to mothers, and least important to sons where it nevertheless draws 50% of the sons' responses in the "medium" category and an additional 30% in the "high" bracket. Two items associated with "autonomy" in jobs, freedom from supervision and chance to exercise leadership, show some variation among the three respondents. Mothers are more likely to rate these items as of "low" or "no" importance. Fathers are least likely to do so. Sons and fathers place these items primarily at the "medium" level, but with heavy proportions also rating them as "high" in importance. Finally, with respect to "adventure," sons are most interested in this aspect of occupations with 41% rating this as of "high" importance and another 36% stating it is of "medium" importance. Mothers and fathers far more frequently rated this as of "low" or "no" importance, though they also indicated relatively frequently that they saw it of "medium" or "high" desirability.

C. Family Personality Traits.

The data presented in Tables Thirteen, Fourteen, and Fifteen are derived from the other portion of the Farber Marital Integration Scale referred to above in the family values section (5). The analyses intended for these data are of a complex type involving determination of the emotional climate of the family in terms of role tensions and in terms of concensus on characteristics of family members. A preliminary analysis on the matter of concensus with respect to personality traits indicates that highest concensus exists among family members on mothers' positive traits, followed in order by mothers' negative traits, sons' positive traits, sons' negative traits, fathers' positive traits, and, finally, lowest concensus exists on fathers' negative personality traits. However, with respect to the interests of this study, no meaningful findings can be derived from the tabulations presented in the appendix tables. They will be analyzed in some detail, however, and reports of this analysis will be made available. They are presented here in case that readers may have interests which may be explored by the straight-forward tabulations.

D. Family Division of Labor.

The data in this section and in the following three sections on decision-making, agreements, and power are all derived from instruments developed by Murray Straus (19). Tables Seventeen, Eighteen, and Nineteen reflect the responses to questions concerning who performs certain tasks in the family by the mothers, fathers, and sons respectively. The clearest manner to gain some general finding from these tables is to compare the median response categories on the various items for the three respondents. When this is done, there is high correspondence between mothers and fathers on who takes responsibility for the various tasks. Both see the mother as carrying major responsibility in the large share of tasks with the oustanding exceptions of lawn-mowing, trash handling, giving the son spending money, and taking the son places. Deviations from this of more than one category difference occur only with respect to the first item, "Who makes sure son is dressed properly." Here the mothers perceive themselves as doing so only "some" of the time, whereas fathers see them as doing so "usually."

Sons' perceptions of the division of labor are also strikingly in agreement as far as what mothers and sons do. However, sons perceive their fathers as being somewhat more involved in dealing with sons' table manners, giving them spending money, keeping records, taking sons places, and paying bills. Sons see themselves as taking a bit more responsibility for the lawn mowing than either parent reports. Sons agree with mothers that they take more responsibility for their own table manners than fathers are willing to report.

E. Family Decision Making.

In Tables Twenty, Twenty-one, and Twenty-two the data on how each member of the family sees the making of decisions being carried out. Once again, there is rather striking correspondence between the three respondents. Mothers are perceived as having heavy decision-making responsibility in most areas. Fathers have their greatest responsibility in two financial areas, records keeping and what bills to pay. All are agreed that sons take a good deal of responsibility for selecting their own clothing and selecting their friends. However, there is some difference in perception on who makes decisions concerning sons' recreational activities in which the sons appear to feel that they control this more than the parents report.

F. Family Agreements.

Tables Twenty-three, Twenty-four, and Twenty-five contain data on the amount of concensus that the three respondents see existing about some of the issues in the division of labor and decision-making area. It should be emphasized that these data represent perceived agreement. More will be said about the whole area of analysis of concensus and its relationship to occupational roles in the discussion section below.

Again taking median response categories, the overall findings are quite clear. Mothers see themselves as overwhelmingly "usually" in agreement with both fathers and sons. Only in the case of table manners with sons and sons' hours with fathers do mothers see themselves as in agreement "half the time." Sons also see basic agreement with both parents by responding "usually" in seven items with each parent. With mothers they report they agree "half the time" on the issue of what clothing to wear and who should mow the lawn. With fathers they report a bit more conflict by stating that they only agree with him "sometimes" on the matter of clothing and "half the time" on clearing the dinner dishes. Fathers reflect the conflict with sons to the greatest degree, while indicating high harmony with mothers. All nine of their responses concerning mothers fall in the "usually" category. However, with sons they report "usually" responses only in four cases. They say that they are in agreement only "half the time" with sons on the issues of table manners, caring for trash, allowances for the son, and sons' hours. They also report conflict over clearing the dinner dishes by indicating that only "sometimes" do they agree with sons on this matter.

G. Family Power.

Three aspects of family power are reported in Table Twenty-six. By asking, "Who has the last word?" on certain issues, a measurement of what Straus termed "absolute power" is gained. Then the respondent was asked if the parents agreed about who had the last word in the specified area. Finally, the respondent was asked to indicate to what degree the son helped decide in the various areas. In effect, these last two items provided a measurement of "relative power."

This table shows extremely high correspondence between the responses of the three respondents. In only two cells out of eighty-seven is there any deviation in the median category chosen. In both cases it is the son who deviates in the perception of absolute power. The son perceives mother and father deciding about equally on life insurance and the father having more power than mother with respect to children's activities. Otherwise the picture is one of fathers having more power with respect to the purchase of automobiles and insurance, mothers having more power with respect to the food budget and household operation, and joint power existing in the other areas. All respondents report that this power balance is "usually" agreed upon by the parents. In addition, all agree that sons participate "some" only in the areas of automobile purchase, vacations, housing, house operation, parents' social activities, and children's activities. No participation for sons appears in any other area and sons are never heavily involved in the decision-making in any of these areas.

H. Work Socialization.

The data reported thus far have all been concerned with the setting within which work socialization takes place. The remaining data are focussed on the work socialization process itself. The general areas of investigation are the various ways in which work information is obtained, the kinds of preferences for work, the qualifications of workers, the way in which preparation for work occurs, the facilitating mechanisms provided, and the job experiences of ninth graders.

Use of Father's Work. It seems obvious that the most immediate and salient source of knowledge concerning work would be the father's occupational situation. Therefore, three areas of questioning took place with respect to this aspect of occupational socialization. The respondents were interrogated concerning discussions which took place with respect to father's work, visits to fathers' work place, and specific use of fathers' work to teach children about work.

Table Twenty-seven reports the data on the discussion of work events. It is clear that most families do have such discussions. The evaluations of the content of these discussions are chiefly neutral according to all respondents. It is of interest that, where a single-valenced evaluation of content occurs, it is primarily negative in nature. Indeed, the message which sons receive is chiefly negative. Parents perceive both positive and negative aspects of these discussions much more frequently than do sons. Again all perceive that the discussions are general family discussions, with the second most frequent response being that they are primarily between husband and wife only. The discussions apparently occur relatively frequently, though mothers and sons perceive a higher frequency than do fathers. Finally, with respect to the effects of the discussions on family members, parents are much more likely to see positive work effects or other types of non-work effects. Sons are more likely to report no effects at all from these discussions.

Overwhelmingly the respondents report visiting father's work places (Table Twenty-eight). Mothers are more likely to see these visits as planned, while sons are least likely to perceive them in this way. Parents report that these are primarily family events while, interestingly, sons most frequently see them as events occurring between themselves and their fathers alone. Finally, parents are more likely to report these visits as having teaching functions, whereas sons see them as occurring for no specific reason most frequently.

Table Twenty-nine indicates that the great share of all respondents report that father's work has been used to teach children about work. They are also in agreement that the primary function was to teach positive general attitudes. Relatively few responses were oriented toward specific skills or specific attitudes nor towards general skills. In addition, father's work does not appear to be used as a way of teaching negative aspects of work.

When parents and children were asked "How the parents went about" teaching whatever they were trying to teach by using the father's work, the results show that these methods are chiefly symbolic and verbal in nature. Thus, sons perceive symbolic methods alone being used 29% of the time. Use of symbolic methods in combination with other methods account for an additional 41% of the sons responses. Parents do not see themselves as utilizing symbolic means alone. Mothers report this is done only 12% of the time with combinations of verbal and other methods used an additional 35% of the time. The greatest share of the combination responses of mothers involve taking a job. Fathers report only 8% symbolic means alone, but report that 19% of the 35% combination responses are personal examples and verbal means. Clearly, however, symbolic and personal methods alone or in combination are the chief means utilized with mothers reporting these 71% of the time, fathers 73% of the time, and sons reporting them 82% of the time.

Visits to Other Work Settings. Almost all respondents also report visits to work settings other than the work place of the father (Table Thirty). These settings are chiefly industrial in nature and most likely sponsored by the family, the school, or the family and some organization combined. Interestingly, mothers report combinations of family and other organizations responses most often, fathers report school sponsorship most frequently, and sons see the school and the family-organization combination about equally responsible. While there is generally high approval expressed of such visits, the outcomes are variously evaluated. Mothers are least likely to see any effect at all, sons report that there are positive work effects from these visits in almost half the cases, while fathers are rather evenly split between positive, other-than-work, and no effects.

Characteristics of a Good Job. The responses to the question, "In your opinion, what are the characteristics of a good job--one that you would want for your child ("self" in the case of the ninth grader)?" are reported in Table Thirty-one. Only the first response given is tabulated here. The chief response from all respondents was a response concerning the interest and satisfaction gained from the job. However, sons did not respond to this as frequently as did parents. Also quite frequently mentioned by them were reasonable wages and good working conditions. These responses were relatively less frequently mentioned first by parents.

Again, the respondents were requested to report the methods used to teach sons about these characteristics. The same general findings as above are found, with symbolic-verbal methods being the primary method either alone or in combination. Indeed, there is even less of the use of personal example in this area and almost no use of other methods.

Characteristics of a Good Worker. Table Thirty-two presents data based upon a question similar to the one just discussed only focussing on worker characteristics. The responses from all family members centered on the combination of good work attitudes and good work habits. Skills do not appear to be of high significance to these respondents at this point. As to the methods for instilling these characteristics in the sons, the symbolic-verbal response still looms large. However, all respondents give a high place to combining this with actually taking a job. Mothers are most likely to report this combination, fathers balance their responses about equally between the two, and sons report more symbolic than symbolic-job combinations.

Job Preferences. Data were gathered concerning job preferences in three ways--by asking for preferred jobs, asking for those that would not be considered preferable, and by asking for those about which there were neither positive nor negative feelings. In each case they were asked why they had these preferences. Tables Thirty-three, Thirty-four, and Thirty-five report the results.

Table Thirty-three indicates rather high aspirations on the part of all respondents. If high executive responses alone or in combination are totalled, 47% of the mothers, 49% of the fathers, and 41% of the sons gave these responses. Fathers appear to have the highest aspirations in this, placing 29% of their responses in the high executive only category. Sons aspirations appear less high both by less frequently placing high executive as an only choice and also indicating less frequently the combination of high executive and middle management choice. Parental responses as compared to sons' responses to the reasons for their preferences are of some interest. The interest and satisfaction gained from the job is most frequent for all respondents. However, it has fallen considerably from the responses in Table Thirty-One for the parents. Parents now mention use of special abilities as a second strong reason for their selection. Another strong choice of parents is the autonomy of choice of the son. Sons do not mention use of special abilities at all frequently, but rather maintain some consistency by choosing as a strong reason the working conditions criterion. They, too, have changed their response as compared with Table Thirty-one, however, by not mentioning the matter of wages nearly as frequently.

In examining the negative aspect of job preference, it is clear that the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs are highly rejected by all respondents. Taking only those responses alone or just the two combined accounts for 54% of the mothers and 52% of the fathers. Sons reject these two alone or in combination 31% of the time, but an additional 29% of their responses involve either of these in combination with some other category. Rarely rejected are the high executive, middle management, or administrative categories. The reasons for rejection are of interest in that, while working conditions are frequently mentioned by parents, an equally or greater reason appears in the lack of moral acceptability of the job. Sons do not cite this reason, but place secondary emphasis on job interest and satisfaction and upon wages.

Finally, with respect to neutral feelings concerning jobs, only about half of the respondents indicated they had such feelings. The specific jobs about which they are neutral are widely distributed. Perhaps of interst, though it is difficult to evaluate if it is significant, is the 17% response by mothers to the high executive-unskilled combination and the 18% response by sons to the high executive alone category. The reasons given for their neutrality show a strong emphasis on the part of sons in the freedom of choice of jobs. Parents also mention this in about two thirds of the cases, but also show a strong ambivalence by indicating that they cannot decide between the positive and negative features of the jobs they mention.

Social Class and Job Preference. Another tack that was taken with respect to job preferences had to do with whether or not respondents associated their preferences with their social class identification. All respondents were asked to indicate their evaluation of their social class standing in the community. This was followed by two questions--one asked if there were any jobs which they would consider as inappropriate for "people of your social level in this community" and the other asked if there were any jobs which would be viewed as appropriate. Tables Thirty-six and Thirty-seven present the results.

Of major interest is the comparison of the two tables. When responding to the "appropriate" question (which was asked second), the respondents distribute their answers widely. The most frequently appearing response is that "all jobs are appropriate" which could be seen as essentially a response indicating no relationship between class and occupations. However, when the "inappropriate" question responses are examined, the wide distribution disappears. In its place is a much higher response to the "all jobs are appropriate" and a relatively high response indicating that unskilled jobs are inappropriate. Thus, when asked in the positive manner, between seventy and eighty percent of the respondents see social class relationships. When asked negatively, the relationship drops, but becomes focussed on one category.

Preparation for a Good Job. All respondents were asked what they considered of importance "to know or do about work so that the most desirable outcome" for the ninth grader would occur. This was followed by questions on how attempts had been made by parents to teach these things and on what the ninth grader had done to attempt to learn them. Table Thirty-eight reports the results. Once again it is clear how much parents focus on the importance of good work attitudes. The single factor most frequently mentioned by them is "have good work attitudes." Of equal importance is the combination of good attitudes and "good work habits." When the attitude responses and the attitudes in combination with some other factor are totalled, 61% of the mother responses and 54% of the father responses are accounted for. In contrast, the ninth graders appear to be oriented more towards investigation of job opportunities, skills, and personal abilities. Of clear secondary importance is the learning of specific job skills by itself or in combination with some other factor. These three account for two-thirds of the ninth grader responses.

In terms of the methods used, the symbolic method again appears as most frequent for both parents and, when added to the combination symbolic-job taken, accounts for 56% of the responses of both parents. Indeed, if any combination of symbolic and of job taken responses is counted, only 14% of the mothers' and 18% of the fathers' responses remain. (No comparable data on sons' responses to this item are available due to the peculiar characteristics of their responses to this particular question. It might be noted that this is one of the few places where the attempt to gain comparable responses from all three respondents failed. The sons' responses will be analyzed in later reports when the coding problem is resolved.)

The efforts made by the son in learning these important factors show a very interesting pattern. All three respondents report that some indirectly relevant work experience has been gained at about the same level of frequency. However, parents report that the son has learned proper work attitudes and combined indirectly relevant work experience with proper attitudes far more frequently than the sons. The sons report as their more frequent categories casual investigation of jobs and educational attainment.

Preparation for Life in General. A similar question to the immediately previous one asked about factors related to general life success. It was also followed by the question as to how the parents were attempting to teach these factors. The data appear in Table Thirty-nine. Once again parents indicate strong preference for responses of an attitudinal sort. Seventy-five percent of the mothers' responses and 64% of the fathers' answers were of this order. On the other hand, sons were strongly oriented in their most frequent responses towards education with 57% of their responses involving this factor. Attitudinal factors were involved in 29% of their answers by contrast.

As to the methods utilized to convey these factors, parents again opt strongly for symbolic means mentioning this alone in about a quarter of the cases and in combination in approximately an additional 40% of the responses. The heaviest single combination choice was again the combination of symbolic with a job taken. At this point, sons perceive the heavy symbolic method in use with 41% of them responding with this type of answer alone. An additional 27% of the responses include some combination of the symbolic and another method.

Facilitating Mechanisms. Respondents were asked to report on the presence of equipment, literature, or other such material which were related to the future plans of children. They were then asked to indicate for which members of the family the material was intended and in what ways it was believed to be helpful. Table Forty reports the responses.

Slightly more parents than sons reported the presence of such equipment. It is clear that the kinds of material present are chiefly tools and related equipment alone or in combination with periodicals. The responses are almost evenly split between those indicating the material as intended for the ninth grader only and those indicating it is intended for all of the children. While all three groups of respondents indicate that the material provides direct experience for the child at about the same level, the parents are considerably more likely to report that it also has symbolic effect. The sons see the material as reinforcing courses taken much more frequently than the parents.

Respondents were also asked if such material was available in the homes of relatives. Again they were asked to specify the type of material, how frequently it was used by the ninth grader, and how it helped. Table Forty-one provides the tabulation of this data.

It is interesting to note that parents reported far less of this material available in relatives' homes than sons. From two to three times as many sons reported its availability as either fathers or mothers. In this case, the material is primarily tools and related equipment. Considerably less frequently involved are books. Periodicals are not a major item available from relatives. These materials are not used with great frequency, apparently, since the median case falls in the "more than once a month" category for mothers and in the "less than once a month" category for fathers and sons. The same basic effects are seen here with symbolic and direct experience being the primary ones for parents. Sons still place less emphasis on the symbolic effect, but elevate considerably the direct experience effect.

Non-family Work Related Experiences. Two areas of work related experiences outside the family were briefly explored. Ultimately, as indicated earlier, the interest in these lies in the manner in which the parents may use them to augment their own socialization of the child. The two areas investigated were peer-group experiences and school experiences.

Table Forty-two indicates that fewer parents were aware of the discussions that went on between their sons and their peers than the sons themselves reported. Parents evaluated positively the idea of these discussions at about the same level as the sons. Fathers, however, were also inclined to see these discussions as having no effect of significance--a judgment which is supported to some extent by the sons themselves.

Again with respect to school related experiences (Table Forty-three) the sons report many more work related programs than parents do. The sons are twice as likely to report courses which have work implications for them than the parents do. Parents apparently are under the impression that there are more programs and assemblies, proportionately, than sons actually report. Fathers are under the impression that there is specific counseling for work and mothers believe that general curriculum counseling occurs to a greater extent than the sons appear to experience. Parents report that they are relatively neutral concerning their sons' participation in such programs and sons confirm this neutral attitude by reporting more of it than the parents report. The major outcome seen by all respondents is a stirring of some interest with no indication of investigation or commitment resulting. Both parents and sons report some casual investigation but differ in that parents perceive a tentative commitment whereas sons indicate no commitment resulting from the investigation. Fathers report as well some active investigation with tentative commitment.

Specific Work Interests of Ninth Graders. Respondents were asked if the ninth graders had indicated any interest in a specific kind of work. This was followed for those indicating such an interest by an investigation of the kind of interests expressed, actions taken by parents to encourage or discourage the interest, reasons for the actions taken, and the outcome of these actions. Table Forty-four reports the findings.

Nearly all of the respondents reported such specific expressed interests. There is striking similarity in the types of work reported by the three sets of respondents with high executive positions being the most frequently reported by all. With nearly half of all respondents indicating this first category, about 20% indicate middle management type jobs as the second most frequent interest. Lesser interest is shown in the other types with no respondent reporting interest in unskilled occupations. The chief method for encouraging or discouraging the interest remains the symbolic or combinations of the symbolic and some other method with 60% of the mothers, 48% of the fathers, and 71% of the sons responding with these. Fathers and sons also reported with some degree of frequency that nothing was done. It is clear that the primary actions taken were designed to produce positive evaluations of the work, but again there is a strong secondary finding that in fathers' and sons' eyes no attempt was made to produce an evaluation. Again, as in the case of the school programs, the major outcome seen by all respondents is a continued interest. Secondary reports of gaining experience but not making a commitment, gaining experience with tentative commitment, and casual investigation with tentative commitment appear for some respondents.

Ninth Graders' Work Experience. A rather extensive investigation of the ninth graders' work experience was carried out. The area was opened up by asking, "Has the possibility of your child taking a job after school, on the week-ends, or during vacation periods ever arisen or been discussed?" The responses to this question and the subsequent questions are reported in Table Forty-five.

Over 90% of all respondents responded affirmatively to the basic question. They indicated that the primary reasons for the situation arising was the desire for money on the part of the son. Parents reported this more often than sons did. In contrast, sons reported that it came from parental encouragement more than parents reported this. Sons also reported more chance situations involved. It is clear that the son is the chief originator of the issue of a part-time job for himself, though parental initiation or joint initiation also are reported relatively frequently.

Three main areas of work are reported: distribution, service, and agricultural. Severely limited experience in any of the other categories is indicated. It is apparent that there is a great deal of discussion within the family and with other persons related to the possibility of taking a job. Relatively less searching for information, weighing of the pros and cons, or learning about the work is reported.

The outcome of the possibility of a job for the sons is overwhelmingly reported as being that the job was taken. The same three general areas of jobs are involved here, though reported in different proportions than before. In over 50% of the reports of all three respondents the son still has the job. Where he is no longer employed the most frequent reason given by mothers and sons is that school vacation ended. Fathers report that the job ended a little more frequently than the latter reason. Parents are more inclined to see purely positive effects of the work experience, whereas sons are more likely to be ambivalent about the experience. Mothers are also more likely than fathers to report both positive and negative effects.

Job Information Sources. Table Forty-six presents data on the kinds of information sources respondents gave for vocational help and the extent of use and outcome of the use of such sources.

The most frequently mentioned source for all respondents was a person who held specialized knowledge about a particular kind of work--usually someone employed in that area of work. School counseling facilities were mentioned second most frequently by parents, though sons rarely mentioned this as a source. Sons and parents both mentioned employment agencies as another source, while sons also mentioned generally respected organizations such as libraries, universities, and the like.

The major reasons for mentioning these sources were seen by parents to be the reinforcement of courses taken by the son. While the son agreed with this, he was more likely to see these resources as reinforcing examples about which he knew--something also mentioned by parents about half as often. Fathers and sons also saw the resources as reinforcement of general directions already given by parents or taken by the child.

Of striking interest is the report by two-thirds of the parents that they had not given any such references to their sons. On the other hand, the sons reported in two-thirds of the cases that such suggestions had been made by the parents. The outcomes of such references were generally seen in positive terms by the sons and fathers. While mothers gave positive effects 39% of the time, they also gave 43% responses which did not readily fit into any of the coding categories developed. Sons and mothers were also more likely to see no effects resulting.

Non-work Activities. A part of the setting in which work socialization takes place is the non-work emphasis. As a relatively minor, and far from adequate, attempt to get some data on the non-work activities of the family, respondents were simply asked to tell the kinds of activities they followed when not working. These data, reported in Table Forty-seven, are not strictly comparable. This is due to the fact that the parents were asked to report on the fathers' non-work activities and the sons were asked to report on their own non-school and non-work activities.

In terms of the number of activities reported, fathers and sons are about equally involved with the median reported figure being five activities for the father by both parents and the median figure for sons being six activities. The distribution of type of activities varies somewhat. Outdoor recreation is most frequently mentioned for both fathers and sons, though fathers are apparently more involved in this. The second most frequently mentioned activity for fathers is household and gardening pursuits. The sons report as their second most frequent activity arts and crafts and watching television. The major deviations between mothers' and fathers' reports about fathers' activities occur in higher reporting of intellectual activities by mothers (as compared with fathers' reports about themselves) and the higher reporting of formal organization activity by fathers.

The frequency of participation in the first mentioned activity for both fathers and sons appears to be typically more than once a week with sons reporting almost daily participation. The time devoted to the first-mentioned activity is relatively high for both fathers and sons amounting to between thirty and forty hours per month. Parents report that the activities of the father are most frequently with the whole family. Sons, on the other hand, report their activities as being first with their friends and secondly with both family and friends. They report far less frequently that they are involved mostly with family only.

I. Some Further Analyses.

Three unpublished papers (11, 14, and 15) present further findings concerning work socialization. These papers involve taking the basic findings reported above and attempting to determine the relationships which may exist between the various findings. They are concerned with the "modes of socialization" utilized in work role development, the relationship between family structural characteristics and occupational orientations, and the relationship between family consensus and effectiveness in socialization. Copies of these papers have been supplied to the Office of Education and eventual publication is anticipated in professional journals. Additional analyses of this type are being planned and carried out.

IV. DISCUSSION

The discussion will be divided into five areas: the sample, value orientations, family characteristics, work socialization, and further analyses. Before beginning this discussion, however, it should be emphasized that the exploratory nature of this research limits the possibility of any major substantive kinds of interpretations other than to indicate the kinds of data which have been gathered successfully utilizing the methods employed. The major concern here was to determine whether or not certain kinds of basic data could be gathered concerning work socialization in families. While these data will be utilized to develop some further analyses, these analyses will also be exploratory in nature and will be designed primarily for purposes of suggesting future specific studies which could test out some of the relationships suggested in the present data. It will also be possible to assess the kinds of data not obtained in this study which are necessary to a more complete understanding of family socialization for work roles.

A. Sample.

In spite of the fact that the sample was randomly drawn, it is clear that it is primarily middle class white collar group. This is partially due to sample size. Had it been possible to draw a larger sample it is probable that a larger number of working class and lower class families would have been included. It is also due, however, to the higher refusal to cooperate among lower or working class families. The great share of all refusals to cooperate occurred in families which are estimated to have been in lower socio-economic groups, based upon their location in the school district. The extent to which lower socio-economic groups could be represented was also limited by the requirement that both parents be present in the family. Later studies could deal with the variations introduced by these socio-economic and family structure variables.

The sample also included a relatively small proportion of working wives, particularly those who were employed full time. Once again it is possible for later studies to investigate in more detail the influence that this factor had on our findings. Probably the proportion of ninth graders which were employed is more representative of the employment of the ninth grade population generally.

Because the study was carried out in a university community, it may be that the educational level of parents, particularly fathers, was higher than could be expected in the general population. Higher education undoubtedly influences to some extent the way in which parents approach work socialization. Some of the later analyses will attempt to discover what influences this may have on the data.

Family size and family life cycle categories probably were not unusually distributed with the possible exception of the rather large proportion of families in the "launching" category.

B. Value Orientations.

It will be recalled that the value orientations section was divided into three areas--family values, general life values, and occupational values.

Probably the outstanding finding in the family values section was the stronger familistic orientation of the ninth grader as compared to his parents. This is best interpreted by recognizing that the sons' relationship with their grandparents are characterized in all probability by highly positive affective relationships. They have not experienced many of the negative aspects of relationships with extended kin such as that experienced by the parents. Undoubtedly this response would change as the sons get older and begin to see the negative as well as the positive aspects of relationships with relatives.

A second finding of some interest in the family values area was that having to do with the lower value placed upon moral and religious unity by sons and the relatively higher value placed upon economic security. It will be recalled that at several points later in the findings the children differed from their parents in placing greater importance on extrinsic goals and less emphasis on intrinsic ones. This is probably an area worth additional investigation in terms of determining whether this is a matter having to do with a genuine generational change or whether the children's orientation will change as they mature and gain a wider perspective of the occupational situation.

Concerning general life values the outstanding finding is that having to do with the high rate of indecision shown by the ninth graders. This is probably best interpreted as due to the incomplete socialization of the sons. It would not be expected that they would have developed as stable a set of opinions on these more general value positions as those of parents. Another source of the indecision may have been the statements presented. Some of them were quite abstract while others were phrased in a manner that may have been difficult for a ninth grader to grasp. We might expect that their sons will develop a similar view, given the fact that parents tend to appear rationally oriented with a recognition that, while the world is complex, they do have some control over its events. This is particularly true in view of the reinforcement provided by their educational experience.

In the occupational values area, as indicated above, it is clear that there is some deviation in the manner in which ninth graders view these as opposed to parents. It is also clear that the matters posed here are concrete enough that the sons do have definite opinions concerning them. Thus, sons are concerned about money, status, and security, with the opportunity to use their special abilities and finding adventure in work. Parents are more intrinsically oriented and people oriented than their sons. Once again, however, it may be that this is a matter of incomplete socialization. As the ninth graders mature, they may take on these less materialistic orientations or, on the other hand, they may be reflecting a genuine change in goal orientation with respect to work.

C. Family Characteristics.

There is no question concerning the major finding with respect to the family characteristics. These families are primarily adult centered and dominated. It is generally only in those areas concerning the sons' personal behavior or welfare where there is any indication that sons are given responsibility in part for carrying out a job or making decisions. Their power is clearly limited in every area, including those areas having to do with their own personal situations. In the area of family agreements, sons perceive general agreement between parents and themselves. Here it is the fathers who perceive themselves in greatest conflict with their sons. This finding should be particularly investigated, since it would be expected that fathers would have a major role in the socialization of sons with respect to work roles. If they perceive themselves in conflict with the sons, even though the sons do not perceive the same degree of conflict, this may have important implications.

D. Work Socialization.

There are some general statements which can be made concerning the findings on work socialization which appear to run through the various areas of investigation. The most outstanding element that appears again and again is the high use of the symbolic mode of socialization and the even higher perception of this mode by the ninth graders. Coupled with this is the emphasis which parents place upon attitudes and habits while sons, in contrast, tend to emphasize experiential aspects of work socialization. Parents express more interest in the intrinsic aspects of work situations--job satisfaction, use of abilities, moral acceptability--while sons focus their attention on the more extrinsic factors of working conditions and wages. All respondents express high aspiration levels for the ninth grader and there are indications that these are related to social class position. Finally, the evidence seems to indicate that outside socialization experiences and resources are not perceived as frequently by parents and are not highly utilized by them. Neither parents nor children, however, see these experiences as particularly salient in their effects. The data on non-work activities provides little for us in its present form other than to indicate that there is relatively high participation in these activities and that this is probably an area to which some attention should be paid in more detail for its influence on work socialization.

E. Further Analyses.

The most important thing to bear in mind with the data presented is the fact that it is tabulated by respondent and, thus, it is only possible to make general statements based upon comparisons of the three respondent groups--mothers, fathers, and sons. One of the major reasons for gathering data from all three respondents was to make it possible to investigate the intra-familial characteristics of work socialization. In essence these analyses provide first for a comparison of the responses of the three members of the family and then carry out the further analysis in terms of the degree of agreement which exists between members on the responses. Thus, it will be possible to analyze the socialization process in families with relatively high agreement as opposed to families with relatively low agreement. Two of the three unpublished papers thus far produced (11 and 15) have taken advantage of this potentiality of the data. All projected analyses will likewise use this ability. It must be pointed out, however, that this presents a considerably more complex data analysis problem. Computer programs for this type of data analysis have had to be developed or existing programs adapted to this type of use. The extent of the further analysis of the data will be dependent upon the resources available in terms of time, personnel, and funds.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The conclusions to be drawn in this section will not focus on the findings of the study. The findings, as presented above, are only partial. As has been indicated this is due to the fact that the study design was developed to allow for family group data analysis, rather than simply analysis of data from one family member as representative of the family. These analyses have not been carried out in any detail, though some data have been presented which give some indication of some of the kinds of family group data analyses that will be of special interest. Rather, the conclusions to be discussed are those having to do with the outcome of this "exploratory" attempt at investigating family socialization processes with respect to work roles.

The general conclusion to be drawn would be that the kind of study demanded by the conceptual framework developed at the outset is feasible. It has been demonstrated that it is possible to gather a great deal of data concerning the kinds of inputs identified as important in such a study, and that these data may be gathered rather inexpensively. All of the data reported here were gathered from the respondents in an average of two hours. Actually, the time involved in interviewing and administering the questionnaire to the ninth graders was less than two hours. All tolled, then, data on one family probably were gathered in from five to six hours. These data are, with few exceptions, comparable and, thus, it isppossible to assess the degree to which the socializing agents approach the issues in the same manner and the degree to which the object of socialization, the ninth grader, reflects the kinds of approach of the socializers. Furthermore, it is clear, from the differences appearing in the tabulations of the data by respondent groups, that there are some important differences in the manner in which the respondents react to the areas under investigation. It has been demonstrated, therefore, that it is not an adequate methodology to assume that a single family member can respond validly for all members of that family. Thus, while it may be somewhat more costly to carry out such a design, it is probably that the end result will be of considerably greater value.

There are, of course, qualifications to this general conclusion. The major qualification has to do with the fact that, while reports were obtained of how the family members interacted in response to questions, these reports are severely limited in their ability to reflect the full quality of the socialization process in families. While it was attempted, no successful manner was developed for eliciting reports of the more subtle and, perhaps, almost unconscious kinds of behaviors which are a daily part of the family experience and which have important implications for socialization. No data were gathered, for example, on the following kind of event which happened in the family of one of the investigators at the time the study was being planned.

A ninth grade son raised at the dinner table his intention of obtaining a paper route in order that he might have more spending money available. The conversation that ensued, in which all members participated including the younger siblings of the son, emphasized the degree to which the possession of a paper route might interfere with week-end camping trips, family vacations, and other recreational ventures which the family valued. The emphasis lay in the manner in which the employment of the son and brother would disrupt the family's unity in these situations. Other negative aspects of this type were brought to the ninth grader's attention. While the overall conversation took the explicit tone that the decision was his, there was no question that the family saw this as an undesirable occupational pursuit.

It is undoubtedly true that these parents would have responded positively to ideas concerning the value of employment for the boy in "order to teach him good work attitudes and habits" as parents in this study tended to respond. Nevertheless, the outcome of the conversation was the tentative suggestion by the ninth grader that, perhaps, the best thing to do was to make himself available as a substitute carrier for some regular carrier on occasions. The short term consequences, it can be argued, involved not pursuing the idea of the paper route further. However, it could also be argued that the long-term socialization consequences were to indicate to the boy that considerations with respect to occupations must include the degree to which they affect non-work activities and affect the unity of the family. Yet, the only reason that the research staff member was even conscious of this episode in his own family was due to the fact that he was struggling with the problem of developing some method for eliciting just such events from respondents to be interviewed in the planned study. Thus, it cannot be concluded that a study patterned in its data gathering phase after this one can hope to provide the kind of subtle data illustrated in this example. Several possibilities for other types of data eliciting techniques were discussed and attempts were made to develop several of those which arose out of the discussions. However, pretests of those successfully developed yielded little that could not be gained in a less complex and costly manner, since most of the techniques were lengthy both in time taken to obtain the data and time required to process it in preparation for statistical treatment.

A final conclusion concerning this study would be that the next logical step, aside from the usual refinement of methods used, is to expand the scope of subjects studied. This would have as its goal beginning to deal with the developmental aspect of occupational socialization. Ninth grade boys were chosen as subjects, as already stated, because they seemed to stand at a critical point in their role development. However, in order to determine whether the quality of interaction in socialization is unique to this age group or whether it continues to be of the same type, it is obviously necessary to gather data on subjects who are at earlier and later critical points in their lives. While the ideal design would be truly longitudinal, the most productive next step it is believed would be to select samples in late elementary school, in the last year of high school, and, perhaps, three years removed from high school. Data gathered from these samples could be compared with the ninth grade data to determine whether the salient issues changed in the perceptions of the parents and the boys and whether the methods of socialization used also changed. For example, the issue could be tentatively resolved of whether the deviations in ideas concerning important characteristics of a good job and good worker are reduced as the boy is exposed for a longer period of time to the parents' ideas. Other similar matters could be given a comparative test.

Another issue of this sort, of course, is that concerning whether the socialization process differs for female children. While dealing with the additional variable of the sex of the subject of socialization would have been unnecessarily cumbersome in the exploratory phase of work, it is nevertheless a major problem in need of study. Other matters having to do with social class characteristics, for which some data are available, should certainly be more intensively investigated.

In conclusion, it might be well to point out that, while the present investigation and the proposed investigations have focussed on occupational socialization as an important issue for the present situation in American society, there are important basic human behavior theory benefits gained from this kind of research. As the review of the literature indicated, relatively little is known concerning the process of socialization and concerning the quality of family interaction in general. In addition, these studies are designed to test a major theoretical framework which has been emerging in sociological literature on the family over the past thirty-five years, viz., "the developmental approach." This exploratory study and those which it seems to demand are demonstrations that what is usually termed "applied research" and what is usually termed "basic research" are not incompatible.

VI. SUMMARY

This study has investigated the intra-family socialization process with respect to work roles. While the study is based upon a theoretical model which is designed to analyse the nature of the development of occupational roles in the child, the exploratory nature of this effort prohibited gaining very much insight into that particular aspect. Rather, an attempt was made to capture some of the characteristics of the socialization process as perceived by the parents and the child. Thus a sample of one hundred intact families all of whom had a ninth grade son was drawn from a school district in a standard metropolitan area. The criteria set for the sample limited the number of lower and working class families included as well as the fact that refusal to cooperate was more frequent in these socioeconomic groups. Thus the completed sample was highly composed of middle-class white collar workers.

Data were gathered independently from both parents and the ninth grade boy by use of a self-completed questionnaire and an interview schedule composed chiefly of open-ended questions. The kinds of "in-puts" into the work socialization process which were investigated including the following areas: family structure characteristics such as type of family, power structure, division of labor, family composition, ordinal position of the ninth grader, family life cycle category, and emotional conditions; value orientations concerning family life, general values about life, and occupational values; specific work socialization experiences and orientations including the use of the father's work for socialization purposes, characteristics of a good job, characteristics of a good worker, job preferences, social class attitudes and job preference, use of facilitating mechanisms, peer group experiences, work experiences of ninth graders, use of extra-familial resources for job information, and non-work activities; finally, major exploration was made into the manner in which the parents attempted to teach the child about work using the above areas as a focus and the way in which the child perceived these efforts.

Major findings based upon the tabulations by respondent groups revealed the following information. Ninth graders were more familistically oriented than their parents. There was a general tendency in a wide number of value questions for the sons to emphasize extrinsic and materialistic values while parents tended to emphasize intrinsic and humanistic values. Both parents and children were generally rationally oriented while at the same time lending some credence to the idea of a higher being involved in life events. Sons reported considerably more indecision concerning the more abstract general life values than towards the more concrete occupational values. Parents tended to emphasize attitudes and habits in their socialization efforts while ninth graders tended to emphasize skills, knowledge, and investigation of work requirements more. Parents tended to use primarily symbolic methods in their socialization with some emphasis placed upon providing actual work experience. The sons perceived even more heavily than the parents reported this heavy symbolic emphasis. Sons were more aware of extra-familial work socialization resources and experiences than were the parents and also reported using these more than the parents reported referring the son to them. The families tended to be adult centered and dominated with little participation by the sons in the division of labor or decision-making.

The major conclusions drawn from the study were that the exploratory efforts in terms of gaining data on family socialization interaction were relatively successful. However, it was recognized that the full quality of the socialization process had not been caught, particularly in terms of the subtle and unconscious day by day events which impress upon the child basic orientations towards work. Further work is needed to develop data eliciting techniques for this kind of data.

The major implications of the study were that the next logical step is to expand the research to include samples of subjects at several critical levels of development in work roles. Thus, children in late elementary school, late high school, and approximately three years beyond high school would be important next for capturing the developmental aspects of work socialization. Matters having to do with the sex of the object of socialization and the social class level of the families were also recognized as having important implications.

Finally, it was emphasized that the data gathered has yet to be fully analyzed in order to gain full benefit from the use of three respondents from the same family. It has been demonstrated that the use of one respondent to gain valid data on the process is unrealistic. The data gathered, however, must be analyzed by comparing the responses of family members with each other in order to see the effect of agreement between socializing agents on the socialization process. These analyses are only beginning to be carried out and are dependent upon availability of monetary and personnel resources. Reports will be provided the Office of Education as they are completed.

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VIII. Appendix Tables

TABLE 1: FATHER'S EMPLOYMENT
(N = 88)

Full-time	98
Part-time	01
Unemployed	01
Retired	--
Disabled	--
Other	--

TABLE 1a: OCCUPATION OF FATHER
(N = 88)

High Executive	10
Middle Management	16
Administrative	32
Clerical and Sales	08
Skilled	18
Semi-skilled	11
Unskilled	05
Not Working	--
Retired	--
Other	--

TABLE 1b: DOES FATHER:
(N = 88)

Work for Himself	32
Work for Someone Else	68
Other	--

TABLE 1c: IF FATHER "WORKS FOR HIMSELF:"
(N = 28)

Not a Farmer	96
Am a Farmer	04
Other	--

TABLE 1d: NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES WORKING FOR FATHER, IF HE "WORKS FOR HIMSELF:"

(N = 28)

None	21
1 - 4	46
5 - 9	11
10 - 24	07
25 - 49	11
50 - 99	--
100 +	--
Varies	--
Other	--

TABLE 1e: OF FATHER "WORKS FOR SOMEONE ELSE," NUMBER OF PEOPLE WORKING DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY UNDER HIS SUPERVISION

(N = 59)

None	44
1 - 4	22
5 - 9	08
10 -24	10
25 - 49	07
50 - 99	02
100 +	--
Varies	07
Other	--

TABLE 1f: OF FATHER "WORKS FOR SOMEONE ELSE," NUMBER OF SUPERVISORS ABOVE HIM

(N = 57)

None	05
1	32
2	30
3	14
4	07
5 +	11
Other	02

TABLE 1g: NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED IN AN AVERAGE WORK WEEK FOR FATHER

(N = 88)

1 - 5	--
6 - 10	--
11 -20	--
21 - 30	--
31 - 40	31
41 - 50	41
51 - 60	19
61 - 70	05
71 +	02
Other	02

TABLE 1h: NORMAL WORK HOURS AND DAYS FOR FATHER
(N = 88)

Regular Day	75
Regular P.M.	05
Regular Night	01
Regular Rotating	05
Irregular Day and P.M.	03
Irregular Day and Night	--
Irregular P.M. and Night	01
Irregular Rotating	--
Regular Day and P.M.	07
Other	03

TABLE 1i: DOES FATHER USUALLY HAVE WEEKENDS OFF?
(N = 88)

Yes	42
No	58
Other	--

TABLE 1j: IS THERE "SLACK" SEASON IN FATHER'S WORK?
(N = 88)

Yes	08
No	92
Other	--

TABLE 1k: OF "SLACK" SEASON IN FATHER'S WORK, IT IS:
(N = 7)

A. Fall	--
B. Winter	86
C. Spring	--
D. Summer	--
A and B	14
A and C	--
A and D	--
B and C	--
B and D	--
C and D	--
A and B and C	--
A and B and D	--
A and C and D	--
B and C and D	--
A and B and C and D	--
Other	--

TABLE 11: IN "SLACK" SEASON DOES FATHER ATTEMPT TO FIND OTHER WORK

(N = 7)

Yes	43
No	57
Other	--

TABLE 1m: IS THERE "RUSH" SEASON IN FATHER'S WORK

(N = 88)

Yes	51
No	49
Other	--

TABLE 1n: IS THERE "RUSH" SEASON IN FATHER'S WORK
(N = 44)

A. Fall	02
B. Winter	09
C. Spring	11
D. Summer	30
A and B	--
A and C	02
A and D	--
B and C	05
B and D	--
C and D	11
A and B and C	--
A and B and D	--
A and C and D	09
B and C and D	
A and B and C and D	09
Other	05

TABLE 1o: IN "RUSH" SEASON DOES FATHER WORK MORE THAN USUAL HOURS
(N = 44)

Yes	73
No	27
Other	--

TABLE 1p: DOES FATHER HOLD A SECOND JOB?
(N = 88)

Yes	12
No	85
Other	02

TABLE 1q: OF SECOND JOB HELD, NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED PER WEEK
(N =11)

1 - 5	18
6 - 10	36
11 - 20	27
21 - 30	18
31 - 40	--
41 - 50	--
51 - 60	--
61 - 70	--
71 +	--
Other	--

TABLE 1r: OCCUPATION OF FATHER, SECOND JOB

(N = 11)

High Executive	09
Middle Management	09
Administrative	09
Clerical and Sales	18
Skilled	09
Semi-Skilled	18
Unskilled	18
Not Working	--
Retired	--
Other	09

TABLE 2: MOTHER'S EMPLOYMENT
(N = 88)

Yes	35
No	65
Other	--

TABLE 2a: IF MOTHER WORKS, IS SHE EMPLOYED:
(N = 31)

Full-time	45
Part-time	48
Other	06

TABLE 2b: OCCUPATION OF MOTHER
(N = 31)

High Executive	--
Middle Management	13
Administrative	10
Clerical and Sales	45
Skilled	16
Semi-Skilled	--
Unskilled	16
Housewife	--
Retired	--
Other	--

TABLE 2c: NUMBER OF PERSONS WORKING DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY UNDER MOTHER'S SUPERVISION
(N = 31)

None	68
1 - 4	19
5 - 9	03
10 - 24	03
25 - 49	06
50 - 99	--
100 +	--
Varies	--
Other	--

TABLE 2d: NUMBER OF SUPERVISORS ABOVE MOTHER

(N = 30)

None	23
1	40
2	20
3	10
4	--
5 +	07
Other	--

TABLE 2e: NUMBER OF YEARS MOTHER HAS BEEN WORKING AT PRESENT JOB

(N = 32)

Years:	0 - 4	59
	5 - 8	03
	9 - 12	09
	13 - 16	09
	17 - 20	03
	21 - 24	06
	25 - 28	--
	29 - 32	03
	33 +	--
	Other	03

TABLE 2f: NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED IN AN AVERAGE WORK WEEK FOR MOTHER

(N = 30)

Hours:	1 - 5	--
	6 - 10	03
	11 - 20	30
	21 - 30	17
	31 - 40	37
	41 - 50	13
	51 - 60	--
	61 - 70	--
	71 +	--
	Other	--

TABLE 2g: MOTHER'S NORMAL WORK HOURS AND DAYS

(N = 31)

Regular Day	64
Regular P.M.	03
Regular Night	--
Regular Rotating	09
Irregular Day and P.M.	06
Irregular Day and Night	03
Irregular P.M. and Night	--
Irregular Rotating	--
Regular Day and P.M.	--
Other	13

TABLE 2h: DOES MOTHER USUALLY HAVE WEEKENDS OFF?

(N = 31)

Yes	94
No	06
Other	--

TABLE 2i: IS THERE "SLACK" SEASON IN MOTHER'S WORK

(N = 30)

Yes	40
No	60
Other	--

TABLE 2j: IF "SLACK" SEASON FOR MOTHER'S WORK, IT IS:

(N = 12)

A. Fall	--
B. Winter	--
C. Spring	--
D. Summer	83
A and B	--
A and C	--
A and D	--
B and C	--
B and D	--
C and D	17
A and B and C	--
A and B and D	--
A and C and D	--
B and C and D	--
A and B and C and D	--
Other	--

TABLE 2k: ON "SLACK" SEASON OF MOTHER'S WORK, DOES SHE TRY TO FIND OTHER WORK

(N = 13)

Yes	84
No	16
Other	--

5

TABLE 21: IS THERE "RUSH" SEASON IN MOTHER'S WORK
(N = 30)

Yes	30
No	70
Other	--

TABLE 2m: IF "RUSH" SEASON FOR MOTHER'S WORK, IT IS:
(N = 9)

A. Fall	--
B. Winter	11
C. Spring	11
D. Summer	--
A and B	22
A and C	--
A and D	--
B and C	11
B and D	--
C and D	11
A and B and C	33
A and B and D	--
A and C and D	--
B and C and D	--
A and B and C and D	--
Other	--

TABLE 2n: IN "RUSH" SEASON, DOES MOTHER WORK MORE THAN NORMAL HOURS

(N = 9)

Yes	44
No	56
Other	--

TABLE 3: DOES SON HAVE JOB AT PRESENT TIME
(N = 88)

Yes	38
No	62
Other	--

TABLE 3a: IF JOB HELD, JOB-SETTING FOR SON
(N = 33)

Agricultural	03
Crafts	12
Distribution	64
Health	--
Industrial	--
Retail Business	03
Service	12
Wholesale Business	--
Recreation	--
Other	06

TABLE 3b: IF JOB HELD, SON GAINS SPECIFIC SKILLS
(N = 33)

Skills Gained:	
A. Communication	--
B. Social	36
C. Technical	12
A and B and C	--
A and B	--
A and C	03
B and C	03
No Skill Gained	45
Other	--

TABLE 3c: IF JOB HELD, SON HAS WEEKLY COMMITMENT TO JOB
(N = 33)

A. Everyday of Week	36
B. Weekdays Only	03
C. Weekdays (Certain Days)	--
D. Saturday Only	09
E. Sunday Only	--
F. Saturday and Sunday Only	06
B and D	06
B and E	--
C and D	03
C and E	--
C and F	--
Varies from week to week	36
Other	--

TABLE 3d: IF JOB HELD, SON HAS HOURLY COMMITMENT TO THE JOB

(N = 33)

A. Both Mornings and Afternoons	42
B. Mornings Only (before 12:00)	06
C. Afternoons Only (12:00-7:00)	39
D. Evenings Only (After 7:00)	--
A and D	--
B and D	--
C and D	03
Varies from time to time	06
Other	03

TABLE 3e: IF JOB HELD, HOURS SON WORKS IN AVERAGE WEEK

(N = 33)

Hours:	
0 - 3	12
4 - 7	45
8 - 11	33
12 - 15	03
16 - 19	03
20 - 23	--
24 - 27	03
28 - 31	--
32 - 35	--
35 +	--
Other	--

TABLE 4: EDUCATION OF PARENTS

	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)
Ph.D or Equivalent	--	03
MA or Equivalent	--	03
Some Graduate Work	05	05
BA or Equivalent	07	12
Some College	18	16
High School Diploma	52	35
Some High School	06	12
7 - 9 Years	10	09
Less than 7 Years	01	03
Other	01	--

TABLE 5: INDEX OF CLASS POSITION

	Mother* (N = 32)	Father (N = 88)
I	--	--
II	03	40
III	47	20
IV	22	12
V	19	10
VI	06	02
Other	--	--

*Index is based in part on mother's occupation. N = 56 mothers did not have a job at the time of the study.

TABLE 6: SON'S ORDINAL POSITION IN FAMILY
(N = 91)

First born	30
2	43
3	22
4	05
5	01
Other	--

TABLE 7: "STAGE" IN FAMILY LIFE CYCLE
(N = 91)

Any Child Self-Supporting and:	
Youngest Child is 9th Grade	13
Youngest Child is 7th, 8th Grade	01
Youngest Child is 1st-6th Grade	07
Youngest Child is 37 months-1st Grade	02
Youngest Child is 0-36 months	01
Oldest Child 20 Years + but NOT Self-Supporting and:	
Youngest Child is 9th Grade	02
Youngest Child is 7th, 8th Grade	--
Youngest Child is 1st-6th Grade	--
Youngest Child is 37 months-1st Grade	01
Youngest Child is 0-36 months	01
Oldest Child out of High School but NOT Self-Supporting and:	
Youngest Child is 9th Grade	01
Youngest Child is 7th, 8th Grade	02
Youngest Child is 1st-6th Grade	04
Youngest Child is 37 months-1st Grade	03
Youngest Child is 0-36 months	02
Oldest Child is 10th, 11th, 12th Grade but NOT Self-Supporting and:	
Youngest Child is 9th Grade	10
Youngest Child is 7th, 8th Grade	02
Youngest Child is 1st-6th Grade	14
Youngest Child is 37 months-1st Grade	--
Youngest Child is 0-36 months	02
Oldest Child is 9th Grade and:	
9th Grader is Only Child	03
Youngest Child is 9th Grade	01
Youngest Child is 7th, 8th Grade	03
Youngest Child is 1st-6th Grade	15
Youngest Child is 37 months-1st Grade	04
Youngest Child is 0-36 months	02

TABLE 8: FAMILY PREFERENCES

	I Like the Whole Family to Spend Evenings Together			I Want a House Where Family Members can Spend Time Together		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	--	--	--	--	--	--
Disagree	07	08	05	--	--	02
Undecided	02	07	18	--	01	05
Agree	66	59	65	53	51	52
Strongly Agree	24	26	12	47	48	41
Other	01	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE 8: FAMILY PREFERENCES
(Continued)

	I Want to Live Where it's Easy for Relatives to get Together			I Want a House Where Parents Can Feel Free to Move in		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	02	05	01	15	20	02
Disagree	09	18	09	44	40	09
Undecided	27	23	27	09	15	16
Agree	47	49	40	25	18	40
Strongly Agree	15	06	23	07	07	33
Other	--	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE 9: PROVERBS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT LIFE: FATALISM

	There is a Divinity that Shapes Our Ends, Roughhew Them as We Will			The World Moves in an Orderly Fashion			Things that seem Mysterious and Unpredictable now Will One Day be Predicted by Science		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	--	07	02	11	09	11	05	02	02
Disagree	22	25	12	35	43	36	11	23	10
Undecided	28	27	64	18	09	22	27	20	14
Agree	35	27	14	31	34	28	47	48	44
Strongly Agree	14	10	06	03	05	02	11	07	30
Other	01	03	02	01	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE 9: PROVERBS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT LIFE:

FATALISM

(Continued)

	Nothing Comes to Pass but What Fate Wills			Few Things Have but a Single Cause; for Most the "Cause" is Really a Multitude of Little Things Happening Together			As God Created the World, so He can Change or End it as He Pleases		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	11	11	15	--	--	01	--	02	02
Disagree	49	49	26	05	14	08	11	19	15
Undecided	17	19	41	22	16	26	11	10	15
Agree	20	18	18	64	61	60	43	44	22
Strongly Agree	02	01	--	10	09	02	34	24	47
Other	--	01	--	--	--	02	--	--	--

TABLE 9: PROVERBS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT LIFE:

FATALISM

(Continued)

	Man's Existence is Completely Under the Control of Destiny			People Try to Find Order in the World When in Fact there is None			For Any Event there are an Infinite Number of Results		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	07	10	15	03	08	07	--	02	--
Disagree	47	52	22	57	60	41	09	22	12
Undecided	22	16	28	19	10	22	22	15	11
Agree	19	18	30	16	16	30	66	58	62
Strongly Agree	05	02	06	02	02	01	03	02	12
Other	01	01	--	02	03	--	--	01	01

TABLE 9: PROVERBS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT LIFE:

FATALISM

(Continued)

	God is Powerless in the Face of Natural Laws and to ask Him for Help is to Shout at the Wind			The Causes of Any Event are so Intertwined that it is Difficult to Know how Important Each may be			Every Human Problem can be Solved and Every Hunger Satisfied and Every Promise Fulfilled if God so Wills		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	47	26	49	--	02	--	01	02	--
Disagree	36	48	22	18	31	12	20	25	14
Undecided	11	18	24	24	16	47	16	12	18
Agree	05	06	03	56	47	40	41	42	33
Strongly Agree	01	02	01	--	05	01	22	18	35
Other	--	--	01	02	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE 10: PROVERBS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT LIFE:
RATIONALITY

	Nothing is Less in Our Power than the Heart, and far from Commanding it, We are Wiser to Obey it			In Deciding Whether or not to do Something, it's Wise to Make as Long a List as You can of all the Outcomes			To try to do Many Things is to do None of Them Well		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	02	03	06	01	02	02	03	05	07
Disagree	27	36	11	30	30	18	45	45	42
Undecided	32	22	42	22	12	19	09	06	07
Agree	34	32	31	40	47	41	33	35	24
Strongly Agree	05	06	08	07	09	18	08	09	20
Other	--	01	02	01	--	01	01	--	--

TABLE 10: PROVERBS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT LIFE:

RATIONALITY

(Continued)

	Happiness Comes from Impulse Rather than Reason			Each Important Thing that Happens to Man can be Traced to a Single Cause			You can only Confuse Yourself by Thinking of all that Might Happen		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	10	08	05	08	09	05	03	05	08
Disagree	66	65	27	52	59	45	34	45	33
Undecided	14	14	27	16	12	19	01	08	11
Agree	08	12	30	23	15	25	56	35	36
Strongly Agree	01	01	08	01	03	06	06	07	11
Other	01	--	03	--	01	--	--	--	--

TABLE 10: PROVERBS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT LIFE:
RATIONALITY
(Continued)

	Our First Impulses are Good; Thought Usually Weakens Them			For Every Action There's a Limited Number of Outcomes; Its Smart to Consider them all Beforehand			It's Important to Decide Upon One Thing and Stick to it		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	05	03	03	--	01	--	01	02	01
Disagree	53	67	27	15	14	06	25	35	25
Undecided	14	09	24	12	09	18	09	11	17
Agree	27	19	33	62	68	56	58	45	43
Strongly Agree	01	01	11	10	08	20	07	06	14
Other	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE 11: PROVERBS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT LIFE:
FUTURE-ANTI-TRADITIONALISM

	Happiness Comes from Living from Day to Day			The Tried and True Ways are the Best			To Live by Custom is a Foolish Thing		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	--	06	01	--	02	06	03	05	07
Disagree	24	25	14	33	40	23	45	36	31
Undecided	11	14	32	31	17	26	17	20	22
Agree	44	40	39	30	31	34	31	34	27
Strongly Agree	20	15	15	06	08	09	03	05	14
Other	--	01	--	01	02	02	--	--	--

TABLE 11: PROVERBS AND STATEMENTS ABOUT LIFE: FUTURE-ANTI-TRADITIONALISM

(Continued)

	Our Grand Business is not to See What Lies Dimly at a Distance, but to do What Lies Clearly at Hand			When Ancient Opinions and Rules of Life are Taken Away, the Loss to People Cannot Possibly be Estimated			The Pleasures of One Today are Worth Those of Two Tomorrows		
	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Strongly Disagree	--	01	--	01	02	--	05	07	05
Disagree	17	28	15	20	23	10	45	58	23
Undecided	15	14	33	38	34	49	22	14	35
Agree	60	49	44	34	33	38	26	20	30
Strongly Agree	08	07	08	05	07	01	02	01	06
Other	--	01	--	02	01	02	--	--	02

TABLE 12: THE IDEAL JOB: PEOPLE ORIENTATION

Importance of Characteristic	Work with People Rather Than Things			Opportunity to be Helpful to Others		
	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)
NONE	02	05	06	--	--	--
LOW	17	19	24	08	05	06
MEDIUM	32	49	38	23	28	39
HIGH	49	27	33	69	67	56
OTHER	--	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE 12: THE IDEAL JOB: EXTRINSIC REWARDS
(Continued)

Importance of Characteristic	Earn a Good Deal of Money			Gain Status and Prestige			Look Forward to a Stable, Secure Future		
	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)
NONE	--	--	--	18	12	07	--	--	--
LOW	16	14	06	39	41	18	07	06	--
MEDIUM	56	64	47	35	38	52	30	36	15
HIGH	28	22	48	07	08	23	64	58	84
OTHER	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--	01

TABLE 12: THE IDEAL JOB: INTRINSIC REWARDS
(Continued)

Importance of Characteristic	Use Special Abilities or Aptitudes			Be Creative and Original		
	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)
NONE	--	--	01	--	05	03
LOW	--	--	--	14	09	17
MEDIUM	20	23	22	44	32	50
HIGH	80	77	77	41	53	30
OTHER	--	--	--	01	01	--

TABLE 12: THE IDEAL JOB: AUTONOMY
(Continued)

Importance of Characteristic	Free of Supervision by Others			Chance to Exercise Leadership			Provide Adventure		
	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)	Mom (N=88)	Dad (N=88)	Son (N=88)
NONE	08	--	05	10	02	01	16	08	10
LOW	33	17	23	26	15	20	30	25	12
MEDIUM	42	52	52	52	51	40	36	47	36
HIGH	17	31	20	11	31	38	18	20	41
OTHER	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--

TABLE 13: PERSONALITY TRAITS*

Mother States That:

	Mother has					
Degree to Which Trait is Held:	None	A Little	Some	Much	Very Much	(Other)
Sense of humor	--	09	26	39	25	01
Sense of duty	--	--	03	30	65	02
Stubborn	01	22	33	30	12	02
Gets angry easily	03	26	38	27	06	--
Nervous	08	20	33	22	16	01
Easygoing	10	23	38	17	11	01
Moody	17	40	28	08	07	--
Jealous	39	33	16	03	06	03
Likes to take responsibility	01	07	24	35	33	--
Dominating	12	23	33	25	07	--
Critical of others	10	43	30	11	06	--
Easily excited	09	22	31	24	15	--
Feelings easily hurt	08	19	31	25	16	01
Likes belonging to organizations	30	33	20	09	08	--
Easily depressed	24	25	30	12	09	--
Self-centered	34	42	18	03	01	01
Shy	32	38	19	10	01	--

*(N=88, for each trait)

TABLE 13: PERSONALITY TRAITS*

(Continued)

Mother States That:

Father has

Degree to Which Trait is Held:	None	A Little	Some	Much	Very Much	(Other)
Sense of humor	--	07	22	31	40	01
Sense of duty	--	01	06	17	75	01
Stubborn	02	23	34	22	18	01
Gets angry easily	14	39	26	11	09	01
Nervous	16	38	31	10	06	--
Easygoing	08	14	31	18	28	01
Moody	40	28	18	08	06	--
Jealous	51	27	09	09	-	03
Likes to take responsibility	01	06	09	31	53	--
Dominating	24	22	30	16	09	--
Critical of others	20	43	18	10	08	--
Easily excited	20	44	20	08	06	01
Feelings easily hurt	23	25	32	07	11	02
Likes belonging to organizations	33	31	22	05	10	--
Easily depressed	33	39	15	10	02	01
Self-centered	41	32	15	07	03	02
Shy	49	31	09	08	03	--

*(N=88, for each trait)

TABLE 13: PERSONALITY TRAITS*

(Continued)

Mother States That:

	Son has					
Degree to Which Trait is Held:	None	A Little	Some	Much	Very Much	(Other)
Sense of humor	01	10	27	35	25	01
Sense of duty	--	11	32	30	24	03
Stubborn	02	28	39	14	16	01
Gets angry easily	06	24	39	23	08	01
Nervous	19	42	17	16	05	01
Easygoing	05	16	31	30	18	01
Moody	30	36	14	11	09	--
Jealous	42	30	15	07	02	05
Likes to take respondibility	06	15	38	27	15	--
Dominating	25	30	26	11	08	--
Critical of others	25	36	17	11	10	--
Easily excited	16	31	30	11	10	02
Feelings easily hurt	08	32	26	20	12	01
Likes belonging to organizations	26	32	24	12	06	--
Easily depressed	38	39	10	09	05	--
Self-centered	26	32	26	08	07	01
Shy	41	24	20	09	05	01

*(N=88, for each trait)

TABLE 14: PERSONALITY TRAITS*

Father States That:

	Father has					
Degree to Which Trait is Held:	None	A Little	Some	Much	Very Much	(Other)
Sense of humor	02	03	24	32	35	03
Sense of duty	---	--	02	40	55	03
Stubborn	02	14	39	24	20	01
Gets angry easily	10	30	27	19	11	02
Nervous	15	34	31	09	08	03
Easy going	05	16	36	24	16	03
Moody	18	38	20	11	10	02
Jealous	42	33	11	10	01	02
Likes to take responsibility	01	06	28	35	27	02
Dominating	22	34	22	14	07	02
Critical of others	20	28	34	08	06	03
Easily excited	27	40	20	08	03	01
Feelings easily hurt	20	38	24	11	06	01
Likes belonging to organizations	26	28	32	07	06	01
Easily depressed	26	39	26	02	05	02
Self-centered	32	33	22	07	05	02
Shy	32	34	23	08	01	02

*(N=88, for each trait)

TABLE 14: PERSONALITY TRAITS*

(Continued)

Father States That:

	Mother has					
Degree to Which Trait is Held:	None	A Little	Some	Much	Very Much	(Other)
Sense of humor	--	03	22	41	31	03
Sense of duty	--	01	09	23	66	01
Stubborn	02	17	44	24	10	02
Gets angry easily	11	35	27	17	08	01
Nervous	18	26	27	19	08	01
Easy going	08	23	28	27	10	03
Moody	18	49	22	06	03	02
Jealous	39	26	17	09	06	03
Likes to take responsibility	01	19	20	31	26	02
Dominating	24	28	23	12	10	02
Critical of others	17	40	27	07	07	02
Easily excited	18	20	32	18	11	--
Feelings easily hurt	16	20	28	18	17	--
Likes belonging to organizations	31	30	22	12	06	--
Easily depressed	22	35	22	14	07	01
Self-centered	43	27	23	01	03	02
Shy	40	40	12	05	01	02

*(N=88, for each trait)

TABLE 14: PERSONALITY TRAITS*

(Continued)

Father States That:

			Son has			
Degree to Which Trait is Held:	None	A Little	Some	Much	Very Much	(Other)
Sense of humor	03	06	24	42	24	01
Sense of duty	07	14	32	34	12	01
Stubborn	05	28	41	24	02	--
Gets angry easily	10	34	32	19	05	--
Nervous	25	42	18	10	02	02
Easy going	05	19	35	27	10	03
Moody	26	40	23	07	03	01
Jealous	36	34	19	02	05	03
Likes to take responsibility	06	28	28	22	15	01
Dominating	26	27	26	12	06	02
Critical of others	28	35	19	09	05	03
Easily excited	26	30	33	07	05	--
Feelings easily hurt	19	27	32	11	10	--
Likes belonging to Organizations	22	27	32	14	05	--
Easily depressed	32	43	18	02	03	01
Self-centered	28	32	20	09	07	03
Shy	32	35	24	05	03	01

*(N=88, for each trait)

TABLE 15: PERSCNALITY TRAITS*

Son States That:

			Son has			
Degree to Which Trait is Held:	None	A Little	Some	Much	Very Much	(Other)
Sense of humor	--	06	18	36	38	02
Sense of duty	--	01	39	35	22	03
Stubborn	09	24	41	15	09	02
Gets angry easily	07	23	40	19	09	02
Nervous	25	38	19	10	05	03
Easygoing	05	14	26	33	20	02
Moody	10	35	26	18	08	02
Jealous	31	35	18	08	06	02
Likes to take responsibility	03	17	31	26	19	03
Dominating	10	32	36	15	03	03
Critical of others	15	27	24	24	09	01
Easily excited	12	26	25	23	10	03
Feelings easily hurt	17	30	30	09	11	03
Likes belonging to organizations	08	16	18	19	38	01
Easily depressed	22	33	25	10	07	03
Self-centered	24	33	27	10	02	03
Shy	23	34	27	10	05	01

*(N=88, for each trait)

TABLE 15: PERSONALITY TRAITS*

(Continued)

Son States That:

Father has

Degree to Which Trait is Held:	None	A Little	Some	Much	Very Much	(Other)
Sense of humor	01	08	19	33	38	01
Sense of duty	--	--	02	23	75	--
Stubborn	19	19	30	10	19	02
Gets angry easily	11	27	23	22	17	--
Nervous	36	23	22	07	11	01
Easygoing	12	24	24	24	15	01
Moody	19	33	20	14	12	01
Jealous	61	23	09	02	02	02
Likes to take responsibility	--	08	11	42	38	01
Dominating	18	28	30	14	08	02
Critical of others	26	32	16	14	11	01
Easily excited	19	43	19	09	08	01
Feelings easily hurt	30	35	22	07	05	02
Likes belonging to organizations	14	17	22	23	24	01
Easily depressed	27	34	23	08	06	02
Self-centered	45	26	07	09	10	02
Shy	53	28	09	05	03	01

*(N=88, for each trait)

TABLE 15: PERSONALITY TRAITS*

(Continued)

Son States That:

	Mother has					
Degree to Which Trait is Held:	None	A Little	Some	Much	Very Much	(Other)
Sense of humor	03	07	34	32	22	02
Sense of duty	--	01	03	22	74	--
Stubborn	22	22	20	20	15	01
Gents angry easily	14	24	31	19	10	02
Nervous	27	19	27	11	11	03
Easygoing	10	23	30	32	05	01
Moody	20	18	36	12	11	01
Jealous	59	25	08	02	03	02
Likes to take responsibility	01	11	24	36	27	--
Dominating	16	33	27	09	14	01
Critical of others	22	28	23	14	12	01
Easily excited	09	27	30	14	19	01
Feelings easily hurt	16	30	22	12	18	02
Likes belonging to organizations	09	22	20	22	26	01
Easily depressed	20	28	24	14	11	02
Self-centered	44	27	11	08	07	02
Shy	51	32	09	03	03	01

*(N=88, for each trait)

TABLE 16: RANKING OF DESIRABLE FEATURES FOR A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

#1: "A Place in the Country"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	01	05	01
	2	08	05	06
	3	05	--	05
	4	07	07	11
	5	05	08	11
	6	08	16	06
	7	15	09	14
	8	16	15	16
	9	15	17	11
	10	20	17	18
Lo	Other	--	--	--

TABLE 16a:

#2: "Healthy and Happy Children"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	23	24	17
	2	23	26	17
	3	22	16	13
	4	03	09	15
	5	01	07	09
	6	05	05	07
	7	10	08	07
	8	08	--	10
	9	02	02	05
Lo	10	02	02	--
	Other	--	--	--

RANKING OF DESIRABLE FEATURES FOR A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE AND FAMILY (Continued)

TABLE 16b:

#3: "Companionship"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	05	03	17
	2	13	22	18
	3	18	14	13
	4	15	09	10
	5	16	17	11
	6	13	16	11
	7	07	07	11
	8	08	07	05
	9	06	02	01
Lo	10	--	02	01
	Other	--	--	--

TABLE 16c:

#4: "Personality Development"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	08	05	01
	2	10	05	05
	3	10	11	11
	4	16	14	07
	5	14	16	11
	6	18	13	16
	7	06	11	11
	8	08	06	11
	9	06	11	16
Lo	10	03	08	09
	Other	--	--	--

RANKING OF DESIRABLE FEATURES FOR A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE AND FAMILY (Continued)

TABLE 16d:

#5: "Satisfaction In Affection Shown"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	--	05	01
	2	06	05	05
	3	07	11	11
	4	09	14	07
	5	14	16	11
	6	11	13	16
	7	14	11	11
	8	18	06	11
	9	10	11	16
	10	10	08	09
Lo	Other	--	--	--

TABLE 16e:

#6: "Economic Security"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	02	02	05
	2	01	02	03
	3	06	03	10
	4	03	15	09
	5	05	11	11
	6	10	07	16
	7	13	17	14
	8	13	08	07
	9	19	16	13
	10	28	17	11
Lo	Other	--	--	--

RANKING OF DESIRABLE FEATURES FOR A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE AND FAMILY (Continued)

TABLE 16f:

#7: "Emotional Security"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	06	11	13
	2	08	11	13
	3	13	18	17
	4	22	15	09
	5	15	15	13
	6	09	07	10
	7	10	08	03
	8	05	05	06
	9	10	05	11
Lo	10	02	05	05
	Other	--	--	--

TABLE 16g:

#8: "Moral and Religious Unity"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	29	29	18
	2	14	11	10
	3	13	13	05
	4	10	05	10
	5	11	05	03
	6	06	07	03
	7	06	03	08
	8	03	14	09
	9	05	07	10
Lo	10	03	07	22
	Other	--	--	--

RANKING OF DESIRABLE FEATURES FOR A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE AND FAMILY
(Continued)

TABLE 16h:

#9: "Everyday Interest"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	--	01	01
	2	--	02	03
	3	--	01	01
	4	05	08	08
	5	05	01	09
	6	07	06	10
	7	13	17	10
	8	20	26	11
	9	25	15	21
Lo	10	26	22	24
	Other	--	--	--

TABLE 16i:

#10: "A Home"

	Rank	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Hi	1	26	17	20
	2	17	10	17
	3	08	16	16
	4	09	11	06
	5	15	13	11
	6	13	11	10
	7	07	08	06
	8	01	06	07
	9	01	05	02
Lo	10	02	02	05
	Other	--	--	--

TABLE 17: FAMILY JOBS*

Mother States That:

	Mother does						
Degree to Which Job is Done	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
Makes sure son is dressed properly	09	40	05	30	12	03	01
Who mows lawn	59	25	03	05	--	03	05
Fixes father's breakfast	09	17	03	16	50	05	--
Makes sure son has good table manners	01	23	15	43	17	--	01
Who handles trash	02	59	06	26	07	--	--
Who fixes snacks	--	08	45	14	--	--	--
Who gives son spending money	08	44	10	22	09	07	--
Who keeps records	15	22	05	30	28	--	01
Who cleans dinner table	03	34	06	47	10	--	--
Who takes son out to places	05	50	20	23	02	--	--
Who pays bills	11	25	08	31	25	--	--
Who does evening dishes	05	33	02	40	20	--	--

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 17: FAMILY JOBS*

(Continued)

Mother States That:

	Father does						
Degree to Which Job is Done	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
Makes sure son is dressed properly	42	52	01	--	--	03	01
Who mows lawn	09	61	15	06	03	03	02
Fixes father's breakfast	42	34	01	08	10	05	--
Makes sure son has good table manners	02	58	16	16	07	--	01
Who handles trash	19	65	02	10	03	--	--
Who fixes snacks	26	68	02	01	01	--	01
Who gives son spending money	10	52	08	17	06	07	--
Who keeps records	24	27	07	24	18	--	--
Who cleans dinner table	50	43	03	--	03	--	--
Who takes son out to places	01	52	19	24	03	--	--
Who pays bills	11	39	07	24	18	--	01
Who does evening [illegible]	57	36	01	02	01	--	02

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 17: FAMILY JOBS*

(Continued)

Mother States That:

Son does

Degree to Whichth Job is Done	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't Done	(Other)
Makes sure son is dressed properly	01	08	03	40	44	03	--
Who mows lawn	02	30	20	34	10	03	--
Fixes father's breakfast	78	16	01	01	--	05	--
Makes sure son has good table manners	08	40	14	30	09	--	--
Who handles trash	07	52	14	22	06	--	--
Who fixes snacks	08	77	07	06	01	--	01
Who gives son spending money	38	27	06	10	07	07	06
Who keeps records	94	03	--	--	--	--	02
Who cleans dinner table	16	62	07	09	06	--	--
Who takes son out to places	22	58	07	10	--	--	03
Who pays bills	86	12	--	--	--	--	01
Who does evening dishes	26	56	09	05	03	--	01

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 18: FAMILY JOBS*

Father States That:

	Mother does						
Degree to Which Job is Done	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
Makes sure son is dressed properly	05	30	02	36	26	01	--
Who mows lawn	56	35	01	03	--	01	03
Fixes father's breakfast	08	26	02	25	39	--	--
Makes sure son has good table manners	03	26	10	47	11	02	--
Who handles trash	07	58	03	26	05	01	--
Who fixes snacks	01	24	03	53	17	01	--
Who gives son spending money	06	52	07	25	06	03	01
Who keeps records	14	30	11	20	25	--	--
Who clears dinner table	02	36	08	43	10	--	--
Who takes son out to places	01	60	16	19	02	01	--
Who pays bills	06	33	10	31	20	--	--
Who does evening dishes	03	33	05	42	17	--	--

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 18: FAMILY JOBS*

(Continued)

Father States That:

			Father does				
Degree to Which Job is Done	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
Makes sure son is dressed properly	24	69	01	03	--	01	01
Who mows lawn	07	59	10	18	03	01	01
Fixes father's breakfast	38	38	04	14	07	--	01
Makes sure son has good table manners	01	47	16	28	06	02	--
Who handles trash	05	78	06	08	02	01	--
Who fixes snacks	23	74	01	01	--	01	--
Who gives son spending money	06	52	07	23	08	03	01
Who keeps records	15	40	09	18	18	--	--
Who clears dinner table	35	60	02	02	--	--	--
Who takes son out to places	--	53	20	25	--	01	--
Who pays bills	12	41	11	20	15	--	--
Who does evening dishes	51	47	01	01	--	--	--

---

*(N=88, for each job

TABLE 18: FAMILY JOBS*

(Continued)

Father States That:

Son does

Degree to Which Job is Done	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
Makes sure son is dressed properly	05	19	08	43	24	01	--
Who mows lawn	03	41	15	32	07	01	01
Fixes father's breakfast	77	22	--	--	--	--	01
Makes sure son has good table manners	14	48	07	25	03	02	01
Who handles trash	07	53	09	30	--	01	--
Who fixes snacks	17	75	02	05	--	01	--
Who gives son spending money	45	31	03	12	03	03	01
Who keeps records	94	05	--	01	--	--	--
Who clears dinner table	15	61	14	09	01	--	--
Who takes son out to places	18	60	08	09	01	01	02
Who pays bills	90	09	--	01	--	--	--
Who does evening dishes	27	49	12	10	01	--	--

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 19: FAMILY JOBS*

Son States That:

Mother does

Degree to Which Job is Done	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
Makes sure son is dressed properly	15	26	06	25	23	05	01
Who mows lawn	74	23	01	--	--	02	--
Fixes father's breakfast	06	15	05	24	45	06	--
Makes sure son has good table manners	03	17	18	35	24	01	01
Who handles trash	11	53	17	18	--	--	--
Who fixes snacks	05	33	09	32	16	05	01
Who gives son spending money	09	45	18	12	06	09	--
Who keeps records	16	18	15	24	23	03	01
Who clears dinner table	06	38	10	38	09	--	--
Who takes son out to places	07	43	28	17	02	02	--
Who pays bills	11	32	19	25	11	01	--
Who does evening dishes	05	30	09	39	14	05	--

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 19: FAMILY JOBS*

(Continued)

Son States That:

Father does

Degree to Which Job is Done	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
Makes sure son is dressed properly	34	41	07	10	02	05	01
Who mows lawn	12	50	19	14	01	02	01
Fixes father's breakfast	42	33	05	10	05	06	--
Makes sure son has good table manners	05	23	19	24	27	01	01
Who handles trash	23	59	07	10	01	--	--
Who fixes snacks	32	53	07	01	01	05	01
Who gives son spending money	05	39	15	15	18	09	--
Who keeps records	11	16	17	17	34	03	01
Who clears dinner table	43	52	03	01	--	--	--
Who takes son out to places	--	31	34	30	03	02	--
Who pays bills	06	18	20	30	25	01	--
Who does evening dishes	51	39	03	02	--	05	--

---

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 19: FAMILY JOBS*

(Continued)

Son States That:

	Son does						
Degree to Which Job is Done	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
Makes sure son is dressed properly	09	17	05	25	39	05	01
Who mows lawn	02	14	27	38	17	02	--
Fixes father's breakfast	74	18	01	01	--	06	--
Makes sure son has good table manners	09	35	15	30	10	01	--
Who handles trash	38	17	31	15	--	--	--
Who fixes snacks	12	60	11	08	02	05	01
Who gives son spending money	43	25	02	15	06	09	--
Who keeps records	91	05	--	--	--	03	01
Who clears dinner table	09	55	17	14	06	--	--
Who takes son out to places	23	45	07	17	05	02	01
Who pays bills	82	15	01	--	--	01	01
Who does evening dishes	23	41	16	14	02	05	--

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 20: FAMILY DECISIONS*

Mother States That:

	Mother decides						
Degree to Which Decision is Made	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
What son should wear	20	70	05	02	--	01	01
When lawn is mowed	20	47	08	12	06	03	03
What father has for breakfast	12	22	08	33	16	07	02
If son has good table manners	--	25	08	51	16	--	--
Who handles trash	02	42	03	40	11	--	01
What family snack is	01	40	08	45	03	01	01
How much money son has	10	41	14	22	06	08	--
What financial records to keep	19	26	10	26	14	05	--
Who clears dinner table	05	23	03	51	15	03	--
Where & when son goes with parents	--	48	20	22	09	01	--
What bills to pay	15	22	06	38	19	01	--
Who does evening dishes	01	17	02	50	23	06	01
How late son can stay out	--	26	20	42	08	--	03
Which friends son can have	10	41	08	27	06	06	01
What recreation son can have	--	32	11	44	10	01	01

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 20: FAMILY DECISIONS*

(Continued)

Mother States That:

	Father Decides						
Degree to Which Decision is Made	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
What son should wear	67	30	--	--	--	01	02
When lawn is mowed	06	32	12	30	16	03	01
What father has for breakfast	10	42	08	11	20	07	01
If son has good table manners	05	55	11	24	06	--	-
Who handles trash	14	63	06	16	01	--	--
What family snack is	09	72	08	09	--	01	01
How much money son has	06	38	12	26	10	08	--
What financial records to keep	07	30	11	23	25	05	--
Who clears dinner table	35	48	05	08	01	03	--
Where and when son goes with parents	01	43	20	23	11	01	--
What bills to pay	06	34	06	23	30	01	01
Who does evening dishes	36	48	--	06	03	06	01
How late son can stay out	02	33	24	27	10	--	03
Which friends son can have	12	51	10	14	05	07	01
What recreation son can have	01	48	14	26	09	01	01

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 20: FAMILY DECISIONS*

(Continued)

Mother States That:

	Son decides						
Degree to Which Decision is Made	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
What son should wear	--	02	02	53	40	01	01
When lawn is mowed	20	55	08	09	03	03	01
What father has for breakfast	62	19	01	05	03	07	02
If son has good table manners	16	56	06	18	05	--	--
Who handles trash	30	52	06	07	06	--	--
What family snack is	03	78	07	07	02	01	01
How much money son has	28	48	03	09	03	08	--
What financial records to keep	88	08	--	--	--	05	--
Who clears dinner table	41	43	07	02	03	03	--
Where and when son goes with parents	09	68	08	09	03	01	01
What bills to pay	93	06	--	01	--	--	--
Who does evening dishes	47	38	05	03	01	06	01
How late son can stay out	41	42	06	05	03	--	03
Which friends son can have	03	30	01	48	09	07	02
What recreation son can have	07	51	06	30	03	01	02

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 21: FAMILY DECISIONS*

Father States That:

Mother decides

Degree to Which Decision is Made	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
What son should wear	07	64	05	18	06	01	--
When lawn is m mowed	25	58	05	07	02	02	01
What father has for breakfast	15	34	01	39	09	02	--
If son has good table manners	01	34	09	43	10	01	01
Who handles trash	03	41	07	38	09	01	01
What family snack is	--	31	11	49	06	01	02
How much money son has	07	34	19	27	05	08	--
What financial records to keep	20	24	17	25	14	--	--
Who clears dinner table	03	22	08	49	17	01	--
Where and when son goes with father	--	35	32	28	05	--	--
What bills to pay	05	39	10	35	11	--	--
Who does evening dishes	02	14	08	55	19	02	--
How late son can stay out	01	23	24	35	16	--	01
Which friends son can have	03	51	15	19	10	--	01
What recreation son can have	02	35	18	32	11	--	01

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 21: FAMILY DECISIONS*

(Continued)

Father States That:

	Father decides						
Degree to Which Decision is Made	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
What son should wear	55	44	--	--	--	01	--
When lawn is mowed	05	38	08	39	09	02	--
What father has for breakfast	06	52	01	24	15	02	--
If son has good table manners	02	42	15	32	07	--	02
Who handles trash	07	65	06	18	02	01	01
What family snack is	07	80	06	05	--	01	02
How much money son has	--	38	19	26	09	08	--
What financial records to keep	03	27	17	31	22	--	--
Who clears dinner table	22	70	03	02	--	01	01
Where and when son goes with parents	--	43	32	23	02	--	--
What bills to pay	05	34	09	42	10	--	--
Who does evening dishes	30	64	01	03	--	02	--
How late son can stay out	01	44	25	18	10	--	01
Which friends son can have	09	60	14	11	05	--	01
What recreation son can have	03	59	18	11	06	--	02

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 21: FAMILY DECISIONS*

(Continued)

Father States That:

	Son decides						
Degree to Which Decision is Made	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
What son should wear	03	10	05	67	14	01	--
When lawn is mowed	20	56	06	11	05	02	--
What father has for breakfast	61	31	--	05	01	02	--
If son has good table manners	14	56	05	20	02	--	03
Who handles trash	26	55	01	12	03	01	01
What family snack is	01	83	07	06	--	01	01
How much money son has	36	43	03	09	--	08	--
What financial records to keep	94	06	--	--	--	--	--
Who clears dinner table	31	55	07	03	01	01	02
Where and when son goes with parents	08	75	09	07	01	--	--
What bills to pay	93	05	--	01	01	--	--
Who does evening dishes	43	44	05	03	02	02	--
How late son can stay out	43	51	01	02	01	--	01
Which firends son can have	11	36	02	44	03	--	02
What recreation son can have	12	59	03	20	02	--	02

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 22: FAMILY DECISIONS*

(Continued)

Son States That:

Mother decides

Degree to Which Decision is Made	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
What son should wear	27	55	06	09	--	--	--
When lawn is mowed	28	44	15	08	02	02	--
What father has for breakfast	15	23	09	30	17	05	02
If son has good table manners	03	24	24	28	18	02	--
Who handles trash	03	26	19	36	11	01	02
What family snack is	07	30	20	31	07	05	01
How much money son has	10	36	23	11	08	10	01
What financial records to keep	11	24	17	25	14	02	07
Who clears dinner table	02	19	15	43	19	01	--
Where and when son goes with parents	02	30	38	24	07	--	--
What bills to pay	10	26	23	25	15	01	--
Who does evening dishes	05	10	09	50	20	06	--
How late son can stay out	03	25	25	31	14	01	01
Which friends son can have	24	47	09	12	03	03	01
What recreation son can have	07	35	19	20	05	02	02

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 22: FAMILY DECISIONS*

(Continued)

Son States That:

	Father decides						
Degree to Which Decision is Made	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
What son should wear	65	32	01	01	--	--	01
When lawn is mowed	02	27	18	36	14	02	---
What father has for breakfast	10	36	09	25	12	05	02
If son has good table manners	08	32	25	19	14	02	--
Who handles trash	10	36	22	18	10	01	02
What family snack is	10	51	20	12	--	05	01
How much money son has	08	16	27	23	15	10	01
What financial records to keep	03	14	18	23	33	02	07
Who clears dinner table	28	52	09	06	03	01	--
Where and when son goes with parents	02	22	35	31	10	--	--
What bills to pay	02	12	24	33	27	01	--
Who does evening dishes	26	47	08	10	03	06	--
How late son can stay out	--	19	26	33	19	01	01
Which friends son can have	28	44	08	10	05	03	01
What recreation son can have	11	42	17	19	06	02	02

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 22: FAMILY DECISIONS*

(Continued)

Son States That:

	Son decides						
Degree to Which Decision is Made	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	Isn't done	(Other)
What son should wear	11	07	03	34	43	--	01
When lawn is mowed	19	45	09	19	05	02	--
What father has for breakfast	73	19	--	--	--	05	03
If son has good table manners	19	40	12	18	07	02	01
Who handles trash	33	41	11	08	03	01	02
What family snack is	12	55	10	11	06	05	01
How much money son has	41	22	10	12	03	10	01
What financial records to keep	81	08	02	--	--	02	07
Who clears dinner table	40	40	08	08	03	01	--
Where and when son goes with parents	30	39	10	19	02	--	--
What bills to pay	90	08	01	--	--	--	01
Who does evening dishes	58	26	06	03	01	06	--
How late son can stay out	42	41	07	03	05	01	01
Which friends son can have	11	15	03	34	32	03	01
What recreation son can have	18	26	12	25	14	02	02

*(N=88, for each job)

TABLE 23: FAMILY AGREEMENTS, MOTHER RESPONSES:

	What Son Should Wear for the Day		Who Should Mow the Lawn		If Son has Good Table Manners		Who Takes Care of Trash	
	Mother Agrees with:		Mother Agrees with:		Mother Agrees with:		Mother Agrees with:	
	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Never	03	02	02	02	01	07	02	03
Sometimes	14	05	06	27	11	36	05	30
Half the Time	01	08	02	09	08	15	02	06
Usually	51	68	45	36	59	38	45	42
Always	11	08	33	14	19	03	35	08
Isn't Done	11	08	08	08	--	--	05	05
Other	08	01	03	03	01	01	06	07

TABLE 23: FAMILY AGREEMENTS, MOTHER RESPONSES:

(Continued)

	How Much Allowance Son Should Have		Who Clears Dinner Table		How Late Son Should Stay Out		Which Friends Son May Have	
	Mother Agrees with:		Mother Agrees with:		Mother Agrees with:		Mother Agrees with:	
	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Never	01	05	01	01	01	03	01	01
Sometimes	03	27	09	34	02	30	06	16
Half the Time	05	07	01	08	60	08	02	08
Usually	58	45	52	35	33	47	60	66
Always	23	05	20	06	--	09	26	05
Isn't Done	08	09	11	11	--	--	03	03
Other	02	02	06	05	03	03	01	01

TABLE 23: FAMILY AGREEMENTS, MOTHER RESPONSES:
(Continued)

What Recreation Son May Attend	Mother Agrees with:	
	Dad (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Never	01	02
Sometimes	08	23
Half the Time	03	05
Usually	65	61
Always	20	08
Isn't Done	--	--
Other	02	01

TABLE 24: FAMILY AGREEMENTS, FATHER RESPONSES:

	What Son Should Wear for the Day		Who Should Mow the Lawn		If Son has Good Table Manners		Who Takes Care of Trash	
	Father Agrees with:		Father Agrees with:		Father Agrees with:		Father Agrees with:	
	Mom (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Never	02	01	02	08	01	08	--	09
Sometimes	09	27	09	28	03	39	06	34
Half the Time	01	05	02	07	06	09	02	08
Usually	66	51	59	37	69	34	58	33
Always	14	08	20	11	18	08	28	09
Isn't Done	03	03	05	05	01	01	05	05
Other	05	05	02	02	01	01	01	02

TABLE 24: FAMILY AGREEMENTS, FATHER RESPONSES

(Continued)

	How Much Allowance Son Should Have		Who Clears Dinner Table		How late Son Should Stay Out		Which Friends Son May Have	
	Father Agrees with:		Father Agrees with:		Father Agrees with:		Father Agrees with:	
	Mom (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Never	--	06	03	10	--	06	01	02
Sometimes	05	39	02	40	--	36	02	28
Half the Time	01	07	--	09	01	10	02	05
Usually	65	34	58	28	66	41	62	50
Always	24	09	31	06	31	03	28	10
Isn't Done	05	05	05	05	01	01	01	01
Other	01	01	01	02	01	02	02	03

TABLE 24: FAMILY AGREEMENTS, FATHER RESPONSES:

(Continued)

	What Recreations Son May Attend Father Agrees with:	
	Mom (N = 88)	Son (N = 88)
Never	01	02
Sometimes	02	33
Half the Time	01	10
Usually	68	47
Always	26	07
Isn't Done	--	--
Other	01	01

TABLE 25: FAMILY AGREEMENTS, SON RESPONSES:

	What Son Should Wear for the Day		Who Should Mow the Lawn		If Son Has Good Table Manners		Who Takes Care of Trash	
	Son Agrees with:		Son Agrees with:		Son Agrees with:		Son Agrees with:	
	Dad (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)
Never	15	01	02	09	01	01	01	01
Sometimes	38	38	20	31	27	12	24	17
Half the Time	10	16	12	15	18	19	15	23
Usually	22	34	33	24	32	42	32	32
Always	08	05	--	17	14	17	23	23
Isn't Done	07	07	05	05	02	02	02	02
Other	01	--	--	--	06	06	03	02

TABLE 25: FAMILY AGREEMENTS, SON RESPONSES

(Continued)

	How Much Allowance Son Should Have		Who Clears Dinner Table		How Late Son Should Stay Out		Which Friends Son May Have	
	Son Agrees with:		Son Agrees with:		Son Agrees with:		Son Agrees with:	
	Dad (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)	Dad (N =88)	Mom (N = 88)
Never	09	10	08	03	03	03	05	07
Sometimes	16	11	30	14	25	25	31	26
Half the Time	18	22	14	17	18	16	09	15
Usually	24	24	26	48	31	36	27	24
Always	16	16	20	17	20	17	19	19
Isn't Done	16	16	01	01	01	01	07	07
Other	01	01	01	--	01	01	02	02

TABLE 25: FAMILY AGREEMENTS, SON RESPONSES
(Continued)

	What Recreations Son May Attend	
	Son Agrees with:	
	Dad (N = 88)	Mom (N = 88)
Never	07	08
Sometimes	31	25
Half the Time	07	15
Usually	40	38
Always	09	08
Isn't Done	06	06
Other	01	01

TABLE 26: ABSOLUTE POWER IN THE FAMILY*

Mother States:

Who has the Last Word About:	Father Always	Father more than Mother	Father & Mother the same	Mother more than Father	Mother Always	(Oter)
What car to get	18	58	19	03	--	0
If & how much life insurance to buy	34	40	20	02	--	0
Where vacation taken	06	25	57	04	01	0
What house/apt. to take	06	20	51	14	01	0
If mother works or quits work	16	23	28	16	05	1
Money family spends on food/week	05	11	22	39	22	0
How family income is spent generally	06	39	33	19	01	0
How house is run	--	03	10	68	16	0
Parent's social activities	01	11	51	31	--	0
Children's activities	01	24	44	27	01	0

*(N=88, for each activity)

TABLE 26: ABSOLUTE POWER IN THE FAMILY*

Father States:

Who Has the Last Word About:	Father Always	Father more than Mother	Father & Mother the same	Mother more than Father	Mother Always	(Other)
What car to get	17	52	25	02	--	03
If & how much life insurance to buy	23	44	27	03	---	02
Where vacations taken	No data available					
What house/apt. to take	03	09	49	33	02	03
If mother works or quits work	10	15	32	24	16	03
Money family spends on food/week	02	15	24	35	22	02
How family income is spent generally	07	32	43	15	02	01
How house is run	--	01	08	68	22	01
Parent's social activities	--	10	57	31	01	01
Children's Activities	--	22	41	34	02	01

*(N=88, for each activity)

TABLE 26: ABSOLUTE POWER IN THE FAMILY*

Son States.

Who Has the Last Word About:	Father Always	Father more than Mother	Father & Mother the same	Mother more than Father	Mother Always	(Other)
What car to get	12	51	27	06	---	03
If and how much life insurance to buy	17	31	28	05	01	18
Where vacation taken	03	20	58	11	01	06
What house/apt. to take	02	19	44	24	01	09
If mother works or quits work	06	25	23	20	15	11
Money family spends on food/week	02	25	19	28	18	06
How family income is spent generally	08	40	33	09	05	06
How house is run	---	03	24	58	15	--
Parent's social activities	---	23	48	26	02	01
Children's activities	03	51	30	11	02	02

*(N=88, for each activity)

TABLE 26a: ABSOLUTE POWER IN THE FAMILY*

Do Parents Agree About This?

Mother States :

	Never	Some	½ Time	Usually	Always	(Other)
What car to get	01	06	05	65	23	01
If & how much life insurance to buy	03	07	02	53	31	03
Where vacations taken	--	06	02	72	19	01
What house/ apt. to take	--	01	03	67	23	06
If mother works or quits work	--	10	01	60	19	08
Money family spends on food/ week	01	06	06	52	32	03
How family income is spent generally	--	08	05	70	17	--
How house is run	--	06	01	73	18	02
Parents' social activities	--	07	06	73	14	01
Children's activities	--	05	06	76	12	01

*(N=88, for each activity)

TABLE 26a: ABSOLUTE POWER IN THE FAMILY*

Do Parents Agree About This?

Father States:

	Never	Some	1/2 Time	Usually	Always	(Other)
What car to get	01	05	05	62	23	05
If & how much life insurance to buy	05	01	05	57	31	02
Where vacations taken		no data available				
What house/apt. to take	--	03	05	56	32	05
If mother works or quits work	02	11	06	44	33	03
Money family spends on food/week	02	08	02	53	30	05
How family income is spent generally	01	03	03	70	20	01
How house is run	02	10	03	62	22	01
Parent's social activities	01	07	06	76	09	01
Children's activities	01	03	01	80	11	03

*(N=88, for each activity)

TABLE 26a: ABSOLUTE POWER IN THE FAMILY*

Do Parents Agree About This?

Son States*

	Never	Some	1/2 Time	Usually	Always	(Other)
What car to get	--	08	10	59	22	01
If & how much life insurance to buy	--	05	08	42	28	17
Where vacations taken	--	07	08	57	28	--
What house/apt. to take	01	03	15	43	27	10
If mother works or quits work	05	22	07	32	20	15
Money family spends on food/week	01	06	10	44	30	09
How family income is spent generally	--	07	08	56	24	06
How house is run	--	07	08	65	17	03
Parent's social activities	--	10	15	52	22	01
Children's activities	--	08	08	64	19	01

*(N=88, for each activity)

TABLE 26b: ABSOLUTE POWER IN THE FAMILY*

Does Son Help Decide?

Mother States

	Never	Some	1/2 Time	Usually	Always	(Other)
What car to get	38	38	03	14	02	06
If & how much life insurance to buy	91	03	--	--	01	05
Where vacations taken	05	51	06	26	10	02
What house/apt. to take	32	39	02	16	03	08
If mother works or quits work	50	26	--	08	03	13
Money family spends on food/week	75	14	--	03	01	07
How family income is spent generally	61	36	--	02	--	--
How house is run	10	78	03	05	--	03
Parent's social activities	19	67	01	09	--	03
Children's activities	09	59	09	22	01	--

*(N=88, for each activity)

TABLE 26b: ABSOLUTE POWER IN THE FAMILY*

Does Son Help Decide?

Father States

	Never	Some	1/2 Time	Usually	Always	(Other)
What car to get	20	55	03	12	01	08
If & how much life insurance to buy	80	12	--	01	--	07
Where vacations taken	no data available					
What house/apt. to take	25	51	01	15	--	08
If mother works or quits work	61	23	02	05	02	07
Money family spends on food/week	75	18	--	01	--	06
How family income is spent generally	51	40	01	02	--	06
How house is run	17	72	03	03	01	03
Parent's social activities	16	76	02	05	--	01
Children's activities	06	73	03	14	02	02

*(N=88, for each activity)

TABLE 26b: ABSOLUTE POWER IN THE FAMILY*

Does Son Help Decide?

Son States

	Never	Some	1/2 Time	Usually	Always	(Other)
What car to get	16	48	05	24	06	02
If & how much life insurance to buy	73	11	01	03	01	10
Where vacations taken	08	43	17	23	09	--
What house/apt. to take	18	47	07	15	07	07
If mother works or quits work	62	18	--	05	01	14
Money family spends on food/week	71	22	02	--	--	06
How family income is spent generally	60	33	01	--	--	06
How house is run	08	61	15	11	02	02
Parent's social activities	32	56	08	03	--	01
Children's activities	07	48	14	19	10	02

*(N=88, for each activity)

TABLE 27: ARE WORK EVENTS DISCUSSED AT HOME?

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
No	06	09	05
Yes	94	91	95

TABLE 27a: ARE WORK DISCUSSIONS EVALUATED BY RESPONDENTS?

	Mom (N = 82)	Dad (N = 79)	Son (N = 83)
Negative	08	10	14
Positive	--	--	01
Both Negative and Positive	13	23	05
Neutral	74	51	75
Other	06	09	05

TABLE 27b: PERSONS IN THE FAMILY INVOLVED IN JOB DISCUSSIONS

	Mother Discusses with	Father Discusses with	Son States that Father Discusses with	
	(N = 82)	(N = 79)	(N = 83)	
(Applies to Mother Only)				
Husband	28	24	25	Wife
Husband & Children	62	55	60	Wife & Children
Husband & Son	05	07	07	Wife & Son
Children	00	03	01	Children
Son	00	01	01	Son
Other	06	09	05	

TABLE 27c: FREQUENCY OF WORK DISCUSSIONS

	Mom (N = 82)	Dad (N = 77)	Son (N = 83)
Everyday	33	16	31
More than Once a Week	48	36	48
Once a Week	06	25	10
More than Once a Month	04	06	01
Once a Month	02	02	01
Less than Once a Month	01	01	02
Other	--	13	06

TABLE 27d: EFFECTS OF WORK DISCUSSIONS ON PERSONS IN THE FAMILY

	Mom (N = 82)	Dad (N = 79)	Son (N = 83)
EFFECTS ON FAMILY:			
Positive effects (work)	30	45	22
Negative effects (work)	06	05	08
Both Positive & Negative (work)	07	03	07
OTHER-than-work effects	28	11	09
No effects	21	24	43
Other	06	09	05

TABLE 28: DO FAMILY MEMBERS VISIT FATHER'S WORK PLACE

	Mom (N=87)	Dad (N=87)	Son (N=87)
Yes	82	80	91
No	18	18	09
Other	--	02	--

TABLE 28a: CIRCUMSTANCES OF VISITS TO FATHER'S WORK PLACE

	Mom (N=70)	Dad (N=66)	Son (N=78)
Incidental	20	23	32
Planned	80	74	67
Other	--	03	01

TABLE 28b: FAMILY MEMBERS VISITING FATHER'S WORK PLACE

	Mom States: (N=69)	Dad States: (N=68)	Son States: (N=79)
Husband/Wife	03	06	04
Husband/Wife & Children	55	59	22
Husband/Wife & Son (Only)	07	06	03
Husband & Children (Only)	25	22	25
Husband & Son (Only)	07	06	47
Other	03	01	--

TABLE 28c: REASONS FAMILY MEMBERS GAVE FOR VISITING FATHER'S WORK PLACE

	Mom (N=70)	Dad (N=68)	Son (N=72)
Learn about work	54	57	35
Learn generally	01	03	04
No reason	37	31	49
Other	06	04	12

TABLE 29: HAS FATHER'S WORK BEEN USED TO TEACH CHILDREN ABOUT WORK

	Mom (N=87)	Dad (N=87)	Son (N=87)
Yes	85	86	80
No	14	14	20
Other	01	--	--

TABLE 29a: WHAT IS TAUGHT, WHEN FATHER'S WORK IS USED TO TEACH CHILDREN ABOUT WORK

Teach POSITIVELY About:	Mom (N=75)	Dad (N=75)	Son (N=70)
A. Specific skills	04	05	06
B. Specific attitudes	01	--	--
C. General skills	04	07	09
D. General attitudes	67	59	61
A & B	--	--	03
A & C	01	--	03
A & D	05	04	03
B & C	--	--	--
B & D	01	--	--
C & D	12	23	13
Teach NEGATIVELY About:			
W. Specific skills	--	--	--
X. Specific attitudes	--	--	--
Y. General skills	--	--	--
Z. General attitudes	--	--	--
W & X	--	--	--
W & Y	--	--	--
W & Z	--	--	--
X & Y	--	--	--
X & Z	--	--	--
Y & Z	--	--	--
Other	04	03	02

TABLE 29b: METHODS USED TO TEACH ABOUT WORK

EXAMPLES	Mom (N=73)	Dad (N=75)	Son (N=69)
A. Symbolic	12	08	29
B. Personal	10	11	07
C. Others pointed out	--	--	01
EXPERIENCE:			
D. A job taken	15	11	03
E. Observe work	01	03	03
F. A course taken			
G. General direction given			01
A & B	04	19	13
A & C	05	03	01
A & D	25	03	12
A & E	01	07	12
A & F	01	--	--
A & G		03	03
B & C	03	04	--
B & D	05	04	03
B & E	04	07	01
B & F	--	--	--
B & G	01	04	01
C & D	--	--	01
C & E	--	--	--
C & F	--	--	--
C & G	--	01	--

TABLE 29b: METHODS USED TO TEACH ABOUT WORK (Continued)

EXPERIENCE, Continued			
D & E	05	13	01
D & F	--	--	01
D & G	03	01	01
E & F	--	--	--
E & G	--	--	--
F & G	--	--	--
Other	02	--	02

TABLE 30: SON VISITS TO OTHER-THAN-FATHER PLACES OF WORK

	Mom (N=87)	Dad (N=87)	Son (N=87)
Yes	93	90	94
No	06	05	05
Other	01	06	01

TABLE 30a: KINDS OF WORK PLACES VISITED BY SON - FIRST MENTIONED

	Mom (N=81)	Dad (N=74)	Son (N=81)
Agricultural	04	03	02
Construction	--	01	--
Transportation	02	03	--
Service Industries	04	05	15
Service Professions	09	11	10
Industrial	64	66	58
Retail	06	03	09
Wholesale	--	01	01
Recreation & Entertainment	01	01	--
Government Services	09	04	04
Other	01	01	01

TABLE 30b: SPONSOR OF WORK VISITS

	Mom (N=81)	Dad (N=77)	Son (N=82)
Work Place Publicly Open	--	01	02
Work Place Issued Special Invitation	02	--	02
Immediate Family Sponsored	14	22	18
Other Relatives Sponsored	--	03	--
Acquaintance Sponsored	05	--	04
School Sponsored	31	44	29
Other Organization Sponsored	02	03	06
Son was Self-Initiated	--	01	06
Both Family & Other Organization Sponsored	46	26	32
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 30c: RESPONDENTS EVALUATION OF WORK VISITS

	Mom (N=81)	Dad (N=78)	Son (N=82)
Approve	98	96	91
Disapprove	--	--	01
Non-Committal	02	01	01
Ambivalent	--	03	01
Other	--	--	05

TABLE 30d: RESPONDENTS EVALUATION OF OUTCOMES OF WORK VISITS

	Mom (N=80)	Dad (N=78)	Son (N=82)
Positive Effects	28	29	49
Negative Effects	02	04	06
Both Positive & Negative Effects	02	03	09
Other-Than-Learning-About-Work-Effects	11	22	02
No Effects	52	31	32
Other	04	10	02

TABLE 31: RESPONDENTS INDICATING CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD JOB--FIRST MENTIONED

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Use special abilities	07	08	06
Creative & Original	01	--	--
Work with people, not things	01	--	03
Stable, secure future	06	11	08
Exercise leadership	--	01	01
Adventure	--	--	--
Helpful to others	01	01	--
Pleasant area to settle in	--	--	--
Work on my own	01	01	01
Make spending money while young	--	--	--
Work with my hands	--	01	--
Make persons look up to you	--	01	--
Travel a lot	--	--	--
Do a hard, honest day's work	--	--	01
Live near family and relatives	--	--	--
Work few extra hours	--	--	--
Non-routine work	01	--	02
Work with ideas	01	--	--
Spend a lot of time with wife and kids	--	--	--
Be a wealthy person	--	--	01
Have interest in work, gain satisfaction from it	52	47	31
Gain a reasonable wage	10	09	20
Have a chance for advancement	03	03	05
Good working conditions	06	05	18
Morally acceptable job	05	06	--
A challenging job	02	02	01
Good social conditions at work (good boss, friends, etc.)	--	02	01
The child has autonomy of choice	01	--	--
Access to job through family	--	--	--
(Other)	--	--	--

TABLE 31a: METHODS USED TO TEACH SON CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD JOB

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
EXAMPLE:			
A. Symbolic	32	40	39
B. Personal	11	10	08
C. Others Pointed Out	--	--	--
EXPERIENCE:			
D. A Job Taken	01	01	01
E. Observe Work	--	--	02
F. A Course Taken	--	--	--
G. General Direction Given	02	01	01
A & B	06	10	05
A & C	02	07	01
A & D	06	07	08
A & E	01	01	03
A & F	02	--	01
A & G	13	02	07
B & C	--	01	--
B & D	--	--	--
B & E	01	--	--
B & F	--	02	--
B & G	03	01	--
C & D	--	02	--
C & E	--	--	--
C & F	--	--	--
C & G	01	--	--
D & E	02	01	--
D & F	--	--	--
D & G	01	02	--
E & F	--	--	01
E & G	--	--	--
F & G	01	01	--
Have Done Nothing	06	07	14
Other	07	01	08

TABLE 32: RESPONDENTS INDICATING CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD WORKERS

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
A. Proper Work Attitudes	07	15	13
B. Specific Skills	01	--	01
C. Good Work Habits	03	02	06
D. Interpersonally Competent	--	--	--
E. General Educational Level	--	--	--
F. General Experience	--	--	--
G. Good Personal Appearance	--	--	--
H. Good Intelligence	--	--	--
A & B	10	11	10
A & C	48	39	38
A & D	10	08	08
A & E	--	--	--
A & F	--	--	--
A & G	--	--	--
A & H	02	08	--
B & C	08	08	09
B & D	--	02	03
B & E	--	--	--
B & F	--	--	01
B & G	--	--	--
B & H	--	--	--
C & D	07	01	06
C & E	--	--	01
C & F	--	--	--
C & G	01	02	01
C & H	01	01	01
D & E	--	--	01
D & F	--	--	--
D & G	--	--	01
D & H	--	--	--
E & F	--	--	--
E & G	--	--	--
E & H	--	--	--
F & G	--	--	--
F & H	--	--	--
G & H	--	01	--
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 32a: METHODS USED TO TEACH SON CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD WORKERS

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
EXAMPLE:			
A. Symbolic	22	26	38
B. Personal	10	07	03
C. Others Pointed Out	--	--	01
EXPERIENCE:			
D. A Job Taken	03	05	08
E. Observe Work	--	--	--
F. A Course Taken	--	--	--
G. General Direction Given	01	01	01
A & B	09	05	01
A & C	--	03	02
A & D	41	23	26
A & E	01	06	01
A & F	01	--	02
A & G	--	07	03
B & C	--	02	--
B & D	02	01	02
B & E	03	01	01
B & F	--	--	--
B & G	--	--	--
C & D	--	--	--
C & E	--	--	--
C & F	--	--	--
C & G	--	--	--
D & E	01	03	--
D & F	02	--	--
D & G	--	03	01
E & F	--	--	--
E & G	--	--	--
F & G	--	01	--
Have Done Nothing	--	01	05
Other	01	02	02

TABLE 33: KINDS OF JOBS PARENTS PREFER SON TO CONSIDER

	Mom (N=87)	Dad (N=87)	Son (N=87)
A. High Executive	18	29	18
B. Middle Management	07	05	05
C. Administrative	01	01	05
D. Clerical & Sales	01	02	03
E. Skilled Manual	03	06	05
F. Semi-Skilled	--	--	02
G. Unskilled	--	--	--
A & B	25	14	15
A & C	02	01	02
A & D	01	02	02
A & E	01	03	05
A & F	--	--	--
A & G	--	--	--
B & C	06	02	--
B & D	01	01	02
B & E	03	--	01
B & F	--	--	01
B & G	--	--	--
C & D	02	02	--
C & E	01	01	01
C & F	--	--	01
C & G	--	--	--
D & E	02	01	06
D & F	--	--	--
D & G	--	--	--
E & F	--	01	05
E & G	--	--	--
F & G	--	--	01
None	11	17	--
Other	11	11	20

TABLE 33a: RESPONDENTS STATING CHARACTERISTICS OF A JOB(S) THEY WOULD WANT CONSIDERED BY SON - FIRST MENTIONED

	Mom (N=87)	Dad (N=87)	Son (N=87)
Use special abilities	22	21	02
Creative & Original	01	--	--
Work with people, not things	03	01	08
Stable, secure future	10	09	03
Exercise leadership	--	--	--
Adventure	--	--	02
Helpful to others	06	05	01
Pleasant area to settle in	--	--	--
Work on my own	--	--	02
Make spending money while young	--	--	--
Work with my hands	01	--	06
Make persons look up to you	--	02	--
Travel a lot	--	--	03
Do a hard, honest day's work	--	--	--
Live near family & relatives	--	--	--
Work few extra hours	--	--	--
Non-routine work	--	02	01
Work with ideas	--	01	01
Spend a lot of time with wife & kids	--	--	01
Be a wealthy person	--	--	--
Have interest in work, gain satisfaction from it	26	26	34
Gain a reasonable wage	05	01	07
Have a chance for advancement	01	03	01
Good working conditions	01	03	23
Morally acceptable job	03	06	01
A challenging job	03	01	01
Good social conditions at work (good boss, friends, etc)	01	--	--
The child has autonomy of choice	27	14	--
Access to job through family	01	01	--
Other	--	01	--

TABLE 34: KINDS OF JOBS PARENTS PREFER SON NOT TO CONSIDER

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
A. High Executive	02	01	05
B. Middle Management	--	--	--
C. Administrative	--	01	--
D. Clerical & Sales	--	01	02
E. Skilled Manual	04	--	01
F. Semi-Skilled	10	08	02
G. Unskilled	22	19	16
A & B	--	--	01
A & C	01	--	01
A & D	--	--	01
A & E	--	--	01
A & F	02	--	01
A & G	01	01	07
B & C	--	--	--
B & D	--	--	01
B & E	--	--	01
B & F	--	--	02
B & G	--	--	07
C & D	--	--	05
C & E	--	--	--
C & F	02	--	--
C & G	--	--	--
D & E	--	--	01
D & F	02	--	02
D & G	02	02	07
E & F	02	03	02
E & G	03	05	01
F & G	22	25	13
None	09	08	02
Other	13	25	16

TABLE 34a: RESPONDENTS INDICATING CHARACTERISTICS OF JOBS NOT CONSIDERED FOR SON - FIRST MENTIONED

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Cannot use special abilities	12	08	04
Is not creative & original	--	02	--
Cannot work with people, only things	--	--	--
Doesn't lead to stable, secure future	07	08	04
Cannot exercise leadership	--	--	--
No adventure	--	--	--
Isn't helpful to others	--	--	--
Doesn't allow pleasant area to settle in	--	--	--
Cannot work on my own	--	01	01
No spending money while young	--	--	--
Cannot work with my hands	--	--	--
Doesn't make persons look up to you	--	03	02
Cannot travel a lot	--	--	--
Cannot do a hard, honest day's work	--	--	01
Cannot live near family and relatives	--	--	--
Must work extra hours	--	--	02
Is routine work	06	02	05
Cannot work with ideas	01	--	02
Cannot spend a lot of time with wife & kids	01	--	01
Cannot be a wealthy person	--	--	--
Cannot have interest in work or gain satisfaction from it	06	08	14
Cannot gain a reasonable wage	02	01	11
No chance for advancement	03	06	--
Poor working conditions	22	18	31
Isn't morally acceptable job	22	27	02
Isn't a challenging job	01	05	01
Poor social conditions at work (boss, friends, etc.)	--	--	01
The child has no autonomy of choice	08	06	--
No access to job through family	--	--	--
The child doesn't have special abilities or aptitudes	05	02	09
Other	03	02	02

TABLE 35: RESPONDENTS INDICATING IF THERE ARE "NEUTRAL" JOBS FOR THE SON

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
Yes	53	51	48
No	47	49	52
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 35a: KINDS OF "NEUTRAL" JOBS FOR SON

	Mom (N=47)	Dad (N=48)	Son (N=44)
A. High Executives	06	04	18
B. Middle Management	08	08	09
C. Administrative	--	--	--
D. Clerical & Sales	08	10	09
E. Skilled Manual	06	04	05
F. Semi-Skilled	04	04	02
G. Unskilled	04	10	09
A & B	06	06	07
A & C	04	02	05
A & D	04	--	02
A & E	02	02	--
A & F	--	--	--
A & G	17	04	02
B & C	--	02	05
B & D	06	--	--
B & E	--	02	--
B & F	--	02	--
B & G	--	--	
C & D	04	--	05
C & E	02	--	--
C & F	--	--	--
C & G	--	--	--
D & E	04	04	02
D & F	--	--	--
D & G	04	--	05
E & F	02	--	02
E & G	--	04	--
F & G	--	--	02
Other	04	21	11

TABLE 35b: REASONS FOR CONSIDERING SOME JOBS "NEUTRAL" FOR SON

	Mom (N=47)	Dad (N=49)	Son (N=43)
Son has free choice of job	68	65	95
Respondent cannot decide between positive & negative features of job	30	33	02
Other	02	--	02

TABLE 36: SOCIAL CLASS - APPROPRIATE JOBS

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
A. High Executive	01	--	09
B. Middle Management	--	01	02
C. Administrative	02	--	--
D. Clerical & Sales	02	--	03
E. Skilled	02	05	03
F. Semi-Skilled	02	01	01
G. Unskilled	02	02	--
A & B	11	11	04
A & C	04	05	03
A & D	12	05	05
A & E	03	02	01
A & F	02	--	--
A & G	02	--	--
B & C	02	05	03
B & D	04	01	04
B & E	03	03	08
B & F	--	--	--
B & G	--	--	--
C & D	--	02	04
C & E	05	01	03
C & F	--	--	--
C & G	--	--	--
D & E	02	03	03
D & F	02	03	01
D & G	02	--	03
E & F	02	07	01
E & G	--	02	--
F & G	--	01	03
All Jobs are Appropriate	22	29	16
Other	06	07	14

TABLE 37: SOCIAL CLASS - INAPPROPRIATE JOBS

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
A. High Executives	02	01	05
B. Middle Management	--	--	01
C. Administrative	--	--	--
D. Clerical & Sales	--	01	02
E. Skilled	--	01	01
F. Semi-Skilled	02	02	--
G. Unskilled	24	27	27
A & B	01	01	--
A & C	--	--	--
A & D	--	--	--
A & E	--	--	--
A & F	--	--	--
A & G	02	01	02
B & C	--	--	--
B & D	--	--	01
B & E	--	--	--
B & F	--	--	--
B & G	--	--	--
C & D	--	--	--
C & E	--	--	--
C & F	--	--	01
C & G	--	--	--
D & E	--	--	--
D & F	01	--	01
D & G	02	02	--
E & F	--	--	--
E & G	--	02	01
F & G	09	07	02
All Jobs are Appropriate	42	49	40
Other	14	04	14

TABLE 38: IMPORTANT FACTORS ABOUT WORK NEEDED TO GAIN A GOOD JOB

The SON Should:	Mom (N=87)	Dad (N=87)	Son (N=87)
Have Good Work Attitudes	15	16	05
Learn Specific Job Skills	02	01	13
Learn Good Work Habits	01	--	--
Learn Interpersonal Skills	01	01	01
Have General Educational Level	03	01	06
Get General Experience	01	01	--
Investigate Job Opportunities, Skills Required & Own Abilities	08	18	31
A & B	07	10	07
A & C	17	15	03
A & D	05	01	--
A & E	05	01	02
A & F	02	--	--
A & G	10	11	02
B & C	05	01	05
B & D	--	02	05
B & E	01	01	02
B & F	01	--	--
B & G	--	03	03
C & D	02	01	01
C & E	01	--	--
C & F	--	--	--
C & G	01	--	--
D & E	--	01	02
D & F	--	--	01
D & G	--	02	--
E & F	01	02	01
E & G	03	06	06
F & G	05	01	--
There is Nothing Important	--	--	--
Other	01	--	02

TABLE 38a: METHODS USED TO HELP SON GAIN IMPORTANT JOB FACTORS

EXAMPLE:	Mom (N=87)	Dad (N=87)	Son
A. Symbolic	29	31	
B. Personal	05	01	No Data Available
C. Others Pointed Out	01	--	
EXPERIENCE:			
D. A Job Taken	08	05	
E. Observe Work	--	--	
F. Take a Course	01	--	
G. General Direction Given	02	03	
A & B	03	03	
A & C	01	02	
A & D	27	25	
A & E	02	03	
A & F	01	03	
A & G	08	02	
B & C	--	01	
B & D	01	01	
B & E	01	02	
B & F	--	--	
B & G	--	--	
C & D	--	--	
C & E	--	--	
C & F	--	--	
C & G	--	-	
D & E	--	01	
D & F	02	--	
D & G	02	02	
E & F	--	01	
E & G	01	01	
F & G	--	02	
Nothing Done	01	06	
Other	02	01	

TABLE 38b: SON'S EFFORTS AT GAINING IMPORTANT JOB FACTORS

THE SON HAS:	Mom (N=87)	Dad (N=87)	Son (N=87)
A. Gained Directly Relevant Work Experience	03	02	07
B. Gained Indirectly Relevant Work Experience	13	13	15
C. Investigated Jobs Extensively	02	02	06
D. Investigated Jobs Casually	01	06	14
E. Gained Proper Work Skills	--	--	--
F. Learned Proper Work Attitudes	17	16	06
G. Learned Interpersonal Skills	--	--	02
H. Made Educational Committment	03	03	09
A & B	--	--	--
A & C	02	--	03
A & D	--	01	01
A & E	01	01	--
A & F	01	02	--
A & G	--	01	--
A & F	-	01	01
B & C	01	--	--
B & D	01	01	03
B & E	--	--	--
B & F	26	20	03
B & G	--	02	--
B & H	--	--	01

TABLE 38b:(Con't) SON'S EFFORTS AT GAINING IMPORTANT JOB FACTORS (Continued)

THE SON HAS:	Mom (N=87)	Dad (N=87)	Son (N=87)
C & D	--	--	--
C & E	--	--	--
C & F	01	--	--
C & G	--	--	--
C & H	--	01	03
D & E	--	--	--
D & F	01	--	01
D & G	--	--	--
D & H	01	--	01
E & F	06	05	01
E & G	--	--	--
E & H	--	01	--
F & G	02	-	--
F & H	02	03	--
G & H	--	01	02
Has Done Nothing	10	13	13
Other	02	03	06

TABLE 39: FACTORS PARENTS USE TO PREPARE SON FOR ADULT LIFE IN GENERAL

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
A. Teach Proper Attitude	32	35	11
B. Teach Interpersonal Skills	02	--	01
C. Provide Education	02	10	26
D. Provide Experience for Son	02	03	07
E. Provide Good Emotional Climate	05	03	--
F. Set Good Examples	--	03	01
G. Supply Material Support	--	--	01
A & B	10	11	05
A & C	09	07	09
A & D	10	07	03
A & E	08	01	--
A & F	05	02	01
A & G	01	01	--
B & C	01	02	13
B & D	--	02	02
B & E	--	--	--
B & F	--	01	--
B & G	--	--	--
C & D	--	01	07
C & E	01	02	--
C & F	01	--	01
C & G	01	01	01
D & E	02	01	--
D & F	01	--	01
D & G	--	--	--
E & F	--	01	--
E & G	03	--	--
F & G	--	--	--
Nothing Important	--	--	01
Other	01	01	07

TABLE 39a: METHODS USED TO TEACH SON GENERAL LIFE FACTORS

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
EXAMPLE:			
A. Symbolic	23	28	41
B. Personal	01	--	--
C. Others Pointed Out	--	02	--
EXPERIENCE:			
D. A Job Taken	07	06	05
E. Observe Work	--	01	01
F. Take a course	01	01	01
G. General Direction Given	02	07	01
A & B	03	02	03
A & C	--	03	--
A & D	22	18	07
A & E	--	02	02
A & F	06	05	02
A & G	08	13	13
B & C	02	--	--
B & D	05	02	03
B & E	02	01	--
B & F	01	--	--
B & G	--	--	--
C & D	--	--	--
C & E	--	--	--
C & F	--	--	--
C & G	--	--	--
D & E	--	02	01
D & F	01	02	02
D & G	01	01	02
E & F	01	--	--
E & G	--	--	--
F & G	05	01	--
Have Done Nothing	03	--	07
Other	05	01	07

TABLE 40: RESPONDENTS INDICATING PRESENCE OF WORK RELATED EQUIPMENT/LITERATURE IN THE HOME

	Mom (N = 91)	Dad (N = 91)	Son (N = 91)
Yes	71	75	62
No	29	25	38
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 40a: EQUIPMENT/LITERATURE PRESENT IN THE HOME

	Mom (N = 66)	Dad (N = 68)	Son (N = 56)
A. Tools & Equipment	20	18	23
B. Occupationally-Related Toys	09	03	05
C. Encyclopedias	--	03	02
D. Books	02	07	05
E. Periodicals	08	06	14
A & B	02	01	04
A & C	05	03	--
A & D	06	07	05
A & E	15	10	18
B & C	--	01	02
B & D	03	--	02
B & E	03	04	--
C & D	02	01	02
C & E	03	03	02
D & E	03	03	09
A & B & C	02	--	--
A & B & D	02	03	--
A & B & E	02	01	--
A & C & D	02	06	--
A & C & E	--	04	--
A & D & E	08	06	04
B & C & D	--	01	--
B & C & E	02	--	--
B & D & E	03	01	--
C & D & E	02	01	02
A & B & C & D	--	--	--
A & B & C & E	--	--	--
A & B & D & E	02	--	--
A & C & D & E	--	01	02
B & C & D & E	--	--	--
A & B & C & D & E	--	--	--
Other	--	01	--

TABLE 40b: PERSON FOR WHOM EQUIPMENT/LITERATURE IS PRESENT IN THE HOME

	Mom (N = 65)	Dad (N = 65)	Son (N = 56)
Son Only	55	46	45
Son & Other Children	43	51	48
Other Children Only	02	--	03
Other	--	03	05

TABLE 40c WAYS EQUIPMENT/LITERATURE IN THE HOME HELPS TO LEARN ABOUT WORK

	Mom (N = 63)	Dad (N = 64)	Son (N = 56)
Items Provide:			
Symbols	44	53	28
Personal Examples of Work	--	--	--
Examples of Other Person's Work	--	02	--
Direct Experience	41	41	46
Reinforce Observations of Work	03	--	--
Reinforce Courses Taken	02	02	18
Reinforce General Direction Given	02	02	--
They Don't Help	06	02	05
Other	02	--	02

TABLE 41: IS WORK-RELATED EQUIPMENT/LITERATURE PRESENT IN HOMES OF RELATIVES OR FRIENDS

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
Yes	29	21	59
No	71	78	41
Other	-	01	--

TABLE 41a: EQUIPMENT/LITERATURE PRESENT IN RELATIVES-FRIENDS HOMES

	Mom (N=26)	Dad (N=18)	Son (N=54)
A. Tools & Equipment	50	44	46
B. Occupationally-Related Toys	--	06	09
C. Encyclopedias	04	--	02
D. Books	08	11	17
E. Periodicals	--	--	06
A & B	04	--	
A & C	--	--	02
A & D	04	06	04
A & E	04	11	04
B & C	04	--	
B & D	--	--	02
B & E	--	--	--

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TABLE 41a:(Con't) EQUIPMENT/LITERATURE PRESENT IN RELATIVES-FRIENDS HOMES (Continued)

	Mom (N=26)	Dad (N=18)	Son (N=54)
C & D	--	--	--
C & E	--	11	--
D & E	04	--	04
A & B & C	--	--	--
A & B & D	04	--	--
A & B & E	--	--	--
A & C & D	--	06	--
A & C & E	--	--	--
A & D & E	--	--	02
B & C & D	--	--	--
B & C & E	--	--	--
B & D & E	--	--	--
C & D & E	04	--	--
A & B & C & D	--	--	--
A & B & C & E	--	--	--
A & B & D & E	--	--	--
A & C & D & E	04	--	--
B & C & D & E	--	--	--
A & B & C & D & E	--	--	--
Other	08	06	04

TABLE 41b: FREQUENCY OF SON USING EQUIPMENT/LITERATURE AT RELATIVES-FRIENDS HOME

	Mom (N=22)	Dad (N=17)	Son (N=53)
Every day	09	--	--
More than once a week	05	06	04
Once a week	14	--	08
More than once a month	27	18	09
Once a month	14	12	11
Less than once a month	36	41	47
Other	09	24	21

TABLE 41c: WAYS THAT EQUIPMENT/LITERATURE IS HELPFUL TO LEARN ABOUT WORK

Items Produce:	Mom (N=25)	Dad (N=18)	Son (N=49)
Symbols	40	56	22
Personal examples of work	--	--	--
Examples of other persons' work	--	06	--
Direct experience	44	33	61
Reinforce observations of work	--	--	02
Reinforce courses taken	--	--	08
Reinforce general direction given	08	--	--
They don't help	--	--	--
Other	08	06	06

TABLE 42: DOES SON DISCUSS WORK WITH PEERS

	Mom (N = 91)	Dad (N = 91)	Son (N = 91)
Yes	58	40	77
No	41	60	23
Other	01	--	--

TABLE 42a: EFFECTS PEER-SON WORK DISCUSSIONS HAVE

	Mom (N = 53)	Dad (N = 36)	Son (N = 70)
Positive Effects	75	64	70
Negative Effects	--	--	01
Both Positive & Negative Effects	08	03	11
Other Effects, Not Related to Work	04	03	03
No Effects	09	25	14
Other	04	06	--

TABLE 43: DOES SCHOOL PROVIDE WORK-RELATED PROGRAMS FOR STUDENTS

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
Yes	55	45	91
No	33	33	07
Don't know	12	22	02
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 43a: WORK-RELATED PROGRAMS SCHOOL PROVIDES

	Mom (N=51)	Dad (N=44)	Son (N=84)
A. Courses	33	36	71
B. Counseling for work	06	14	06
C. Programs & assemblies	20	20	14
D. Clubs & related	06	05	05
E. Field trips	--	05	--
A & B	06	02	--
A & C	04	--	01
A & D	--	--	--
A & E	--	--	--
B & C	--	--	--
B & D	--	--	--
B & E	--	--	--

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TABLE 43a: WORK-RELATED PROGRAMS SCHOOL PROVIDES (Continued)

	Mom (N=51)	Dad (N=44)	Son (N=84)
C & D	--	--	01
C & E	02	--	--
D & E	--	--	01
A & B & C	02	--	--
A & B & D	--	--	--
A & B & E	--	--	--
A & C & D	--	--	--
A & C & E	--	--	--
A & D & E	--	--	--
B & C & D	--	--	--
B & C & E	--	--	--
B & D & E	--	--	--
A & B & C & D	--	--	--
A & B & C & E	--	--	--
A & B & D & E	--	--	--
A & C & D & E	--	--	--
B & C & D & E	--	--	--
A & B & C & D & E	--	--	--
General curriculum counseling	20	09	--
Other	02	09	--

TABLE 43b: HAVE PARENTS ENCOURAGED/DISCOURAGED SON'S PARTICIPATION

The Parents Urged Son To:	Mom (N=50)	Dad (N=39)	Son (N=84)
Strongly participate	06	13	01
Participate	38	41	20
Neutral	52	44	69
Not participate	--	03	02
Strongly not participate	--	--	--
Other	04	--	07

TABLE 43c: OUTCOME OF PARENTS EFFORTS FOR SON ON SCHOOL WORK-PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

The son:	Mom (N=48)	Dad (N=33)	Son (N=75)
Actively investigates and tentatively commits	04	12	04
Actively investigates and tentatively rejects	--	--	--
Actively investigates and makes no commitment of any kind	02	03	03
Casually investigates and tentatively commits	19	15	07
Casually investigates and tentatively rejects	--	06	04
Casually investigates and makes no commitment of any kind	02	06	13
Gains experience and tentatively commits	02	03	--
Gains experience and tentatively rejects	--	--	01
Gains experience and makes no commitment of any kind	02	06	03
Has interest only	69	48	65
Other			

TABLE 44: RESPONDENTS INDICATING IF SON HAS INTEREST IN SPECIFIC WORK

	Mom (N = 87)	Dad (N = 87)	Son (N = 87)
Yes	85	87	90
No	15	13	10
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 44a: SPECIFIC WORK SON HAS INTEREST IN

	Mom (N = 74)	Dad (N = 77)	Son (N = 78)
High Executive	51	43	47
Middle Management	22	21	17
Administrative	09	09	13
Clerical & Sales	04	06	--
Skilled Manual	11	08	14
Semi-Skilled	--	03	01
Unskilled	--	--	--
Other	03	10	08

TABLE 44b: METHODS USED TO FACILITATE OR DISCOURAGE SON'S WORK INTEREST

	Mom (N = 74)	Dad (N = 77)	Son (N = 78)
EXAMPLE:			
A. Symbolic	31	28	37
B. Personal	--	--	--
C. Others Pointed Out	--	--	--
EXPERIENCE:			
D. A Job Taken	03	04	01
E. Observe Work	--	--	01
F. A Course Taken	03	05	01
G. General Direction Given	03	08	01
A & B	01	--	01
A & C	03	01	01
A & D	05	10	03
A & E	01	--	03
A & F	11	04	10
A & G	08	05	16
B & C	--	01	--
B & D	--	--	--
B & E	--	01	01
B & F	--	--	--
B & G	--	01	--
C & D	--	--	01
C & E	--	--	--
C & F	01	--	--
C & G	01	--	--
D & E	01	--	01
D & F	11	04	03
D & G	03	01	--
E & F	01	--	--
E & G	--	01	--
F & G	03	01	01
Did Nothing	08	22	17
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 44c: REASON RESPONDENTS ATTEMPT TO FACILITATE OR DISCOURAGE SON'S WORK INTEREST

	Mom (N = 72)	Dad (N = 76)	Son (N = 74)
Respondent Attempts to:			
Produce Positive Evaluations of Work	69	64	51
Produce Negative Evaluations of Work	03	01	--
Produce Both Positive & Negative Evaluations of Work	04	07	11
Produce Evaluations, but Not Related to Work	13	05	04
No Attempt to Produce Evaluations	11	21	30
Other	--	01	04

TABLE 44d: OUTCOME OF RESPONDENTS ATTEMPTS TO FACILITATE OR DISCOURAGE SON'S WORK INTERESTS

	Mom (N = 73)	Dad (N = 73)	Son (N = 79)
THE SON:			
Actively investigates & tentatively commits	05	05	08
Actively investigates & tentatively rejects	--	--	--
Actively investigates & makes no commitment or rejection	01	--	01
Casually investigates & tentatively commits	04	05	14
Casually investigates & tentatively rejects	01	01	05
Casually investigates & makes no commitment or rejection	03	04	03
Gains experience & tentatively commits	14	05	09
Gains experience & tentatively rejects	--	--	--
Gains experience & makes no commitment or rejection	19	18	14
No action except interest	49	59	46
Other	03	01	03

TABLE 45: ARE JOBS AVAILABLE FOR SON (PART-TIME)

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
Yes	92	95	93
No	08	05	07
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 45a: CIRCUMSTANCE FOR SON TAKING A JOB (PART-TIME)

	Mom (N=84)	Dad (N=85)	Son (N=85)
Seasonal Work	07	05	07
Needed Money	58	69	45
Desire Experience	06	01	09
Time Filler	01	01	05
Fortuitous Event	07	06	11
Parental Encouragement	13	13	20
Other	07	05	04

TABLE 45b: PERSON ORIGINATING JOB-FOR-SON IDEA

	Mom (N=82)	Dad (N=84)	Son (N=85)
Son	58	60	42
Parents	21	23	28
Siblings	04	01	01
Adult Relatives	01	01	01
Friends	02	01	06
Peers	--	01	--
Both Son & Parents	13	12	18
Other Persons	--	01	04
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 45c: KINDS OF JOBS INVOLVED

	Mom (N=82)	Dad (N=84)	Son (N=84)
Agricultural	18	19	15
Crafts	06	07	07
Distribution	38	43	34
Health	--	--	01
Industrial	--	01	--
Retail Business	04	01	08
Service	30	27	25
Wholesale Business	--	--	--
Recreation	04	--	05
Other	--	01	04

TABLE 45d: FAMILY ACTIVITY RELATED TO SON'S WORK (PART-TIME)

	Mom (N=81)	Dad (N=86)	Son (N=84)
A. Family Discussion	40	35	37
B. Discussion with Other Persons	05	--	10
C. Search for Information	--	01	--
D. Weighing Good/Bad Points of Jobs	--	--	--
E. Learning About Work Taken into Account	--	--	--
A & B	22	32	33
A & C	05	09	01
A & D	04	02	01
A & E	04	01	--
B & C	--	01	--
B & D	--	--	--
B & E	--	--	--
C & D	--	--	--
C & E	--	--	--
D & E	--	--	--
A & B & C	05	09	10
A & B & D	07	06	05
A & B & E	01	--	--
A & C & D	01	--	--
A & C & E	01	--	--
A & D & E	--	--	--
B & C & D	--	--	--
B & C & E	--	--	--
B & D & E	--	--	--
A & B & C & D	--	01	--
A & B & C & E	--	--	--
A & B & D & E	--	--	--
A & C & D & E	--	--	--
B & C & D & E	--	--	--
A & B & C & D & E	--	--	--
Nothing Occured	05	01	02
Other	--	--	01

TABLE 45e: OUTCOME OF FAMILY ACTIVITY RELATED TO SON'S WORK (PART-TIME)

THE SON:	Mom (N=84)	Dad (N=85)	Son (N=84)
Took a job	83	87	79
Did not take a job	15	13	21
Other	01	--	--

TABLE 45f: IF JOB TAKEN - WHAT KIND

	Mom (N=69)	Dad (N=73)	Son (N=66)
Agricultural	25	23	18
Crafts	06	08	09
Distribution	42	41	38
Health	--	--	--
Industrial	--	--	--
Retail Business	03	--	09
Service	23	32	23
Wholesale Business	--	--	--
Recreation	01	--	01
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 45g: REASON SON STOPPED WORKING

	Mom (N=69)	Dad (N=72)	Son (N=64)
School vacation ended	23	11	26
Parental pressure	--	--	02
Dissatisfied with job	07	04	02
Job ended	04	14	12
Discharged	--	01	--
General circumstances	10	11	06
Still has job	55	58	52
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 45h: WORK-LEARNING EFFECTS OF SON HAVING A JOB

	Mom (N=69)	Dad (N=71)	Son (N=65)
Positive Effects	46	58	12
Negative Effects	01	01	--
Both Positive & Negative Effects	45	24	82
Other Effects, Not Related to Work	07	14	03
No Effects	--	03	02
Other	--	--	02

TABLE 46: PLACES PARENTS MAY REFER SON TO LEARN ABOUT JOBS

	Mom (N = 91)	Dad (N = 91)	Son (N = 91)
Person Respected in General	07	07	21
Person Holding Specialized Work Knowledge	40	42	41
Vocational Counselor	04	03	01
School Counseling Facilities	29	20	05
Employment Agencies	11	14	15
Organization Respected in General	05	05	14
Other Person	01	--	--
Other Organization	02	08	01
Other	01	01	01

TABLE 46a: REASONS GIVEN FOR REFERRING SON TO PLACES WHERE WORK LEARNING OCCURS

	Mom (N = 91)	Dad (N = 91)	Son (N = 91)
The Son Gains:			
Symbolic Experience	03	01	03
Reinforce Personal Examples	--	--	01
Reinforce Others as Examples	22	26	43
Direct Experience	03	01	01
Reinforce Observations of Work	--	--	--
Reinforce Courses Taken	57	51	32
Reinforce General Direction Given	08	18	19
No Suggestion Made	--	--	--
Other	05	03	01

TABLE 46b: HAVE PARENTS SUGGESTED PLACES SON MAY GO TO LEARN ABOUT WORK

	Mom (N = 91)	Dad (N = 91)	Son (N = 91)
Yes	31	30	62
No	63	67	36
Other	07	03	02

TABLE 46c: LEARNING ABOUT WORK EFFECTS OF SUGGESTIONS BY PARENTS

	Mom (N = 28)	Dad (N = 23)	Son (N = 43)
Positive Effects	39	70	51
Negative Effects	--	04	--
Both Positive & Negative Effects	--	--	--
Other Effects, Not Related to Work	--	--	05
No Effects	18	09	26
Other	43	17	19

TABLE 47: TOTAL NUMBER OF NON-WORK ACTIVITIES

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
One	01	01	--
Two	09	05	04
Three	13	13	08
Four	20	23	14
Five	24	15	18
Six	13	21	14
Seven	13	12	13
Eight	02	05	10
Nine	03	02	12
Ten	01	01	03
Eleven	--	--	03
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 47a: TYPE OF NON-WORK ACTIVITY - FIRST MENTIONED

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
Formal Organization	04	12	08
Athletics	03	01	11
Athletics Spectator	02	01	01
Outdoor Recreation	34	34	25
Indoor Recreation	03	04	07
Visiting, Parties	02	03	03
Arts & Crafts	10	07	16
Intellectual	11	05	02
T V	08	09	16
Household Duties & Gardening	22	23	10
Other	--	--	--

TABLE 47b: FREQUENCY OF NON-WORK ACTIVITY FIRST MENTIONED

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
Every day	24	26	43
More than once a week	22	29	34
Once a week	20	14	13
More than once a month	14	10	04
Once a month	09	09	03
Less than once a month	07	05	--
Other	04	07	02

TABLE 47c: TIME TAKEN IN NON-WORK ACTIVITY FIRST MENTIONED

Hours Per Month	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
0 - 4	02	04	05
5 - 9	11	09	09
10 - 14	09	05	09
15 - 19	08	11	09
20 - 24	12	05	04
25 - 29	07	07	07
30 - 34	04	05	05
35 - 39	02	04	04
40 - 44	05	09	04
45 +	35	36	43
Other	04	03	--

TABLE 47d: WITH WHOM NON-WORK ACTIVITY IS PERFORMED - FIRST MENTIONED

	Mom (N=91)	Dad (N=91)	Son (N=91)
Husband-Father	19	03	05
Children	04	09	--
Son Only	08	08	01
Whole Family	40	46	10
Whole Family Except Son	--	--	10
Wife - Mother	05	07	15
Friends (Parents')	05	07	--
Friends (Children's)	--	--	33
Both Family & Friends	18	21	25
Other	01	--	--